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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES**

MARCH 7 AND 8, 1956

PART 7

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND
OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:30 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senator Welker.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva Carpenter, associate counsel; Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst; William Arens, and Elinor Malaney, staff members.

Senator WELKER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Hinton, you were on the stand yesterday. You are still under the oath, the oath given to you as of yesterday. Is that understood by you and your counsel?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HINTON. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Very well. You may proceed, counsel.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. HINTON—Resumed

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, I wonder if you would tell us how you first became associated with the school, with reference to the picture concerning which Senator Welker questioned you yesterday. (Exhibit No. 28, p. 211, pt. 6.)

Mr. HINTON. Just before we start, I want to ask when I am going to get these papers back, because this committee has been weaseling on that thing ever since 9 months ago when they were seized. And I want to know when I am going to get those papers back.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, you spent a lot of the committee's time yesterday. I think it is purely a delaying tactic. You have your counselor present. He knows of any avenue you might have to repossess the property you say you allegedly were deprived of by the Customs and by this committee.

Now, as far as the chairman is concerned, he has heard all of that he is going to hear.

Mr. HINTON. You talk about delay. This thing has been delayed 9 months, and I have had several promises to return those papers, and yesterday there was weaseling on that promise the last time.

Now, there was no condition in my coming down here, but I was told when I appeared here that I will get those papers back, and I am expecting to get them back.

Senator WELKER. Speaking of weaseling, will you not weasel now and tell me whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party as of this moment?

Mr. HINTON. You asked me that question 2 years ago, and I refused to answer it.

Senator WELKER. And I will ask it 2 years more.

Mr. HINTON. And I refuse to answer it now or in the future.

Senator WELKER. And you want to weasel out on that one?

Mr. HINTON. There is no weaseling. I refuse to answer that question. And you know that you can't draw any inference from that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. Why do you refuse to answer it?

Mr. HINTON. I refuse to answer it on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. All right. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, would you answer the question that I asked you?

Mr. HINTON. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us how you became associated with the school in this picture?

Mr. HINTON. I think that it would have been a good idea if the committee had got the Library of Congress to translate the caption over that picture.

Senator WELKER. Now, that is not responsive to the question. Will you answer the question?

Mr. HINTON. That is my answer.

Senator WELKER. All right. I am ordering and directing you to be responsive, and, counsel, I am telling you you had better tell your witness now to be responsive to the question.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I believe that he is getting into it now, Senator.

Senator WELKER. All right. He is not going to go into some discourse. Will he answer the question?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He is about to tell you what is on the caption of that photograph.

Senator WELKER. He had better do it pretty soon.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That is what he is doing now.

Mr. HINTON. That is right. That is very pertinent to this question, and I won't be rushed with my answers.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you answer the question?

Mr. HINTON. I think that the caption on that picture will indicate that that is the tractor school of the South Hopei liberated area, which was set up by the Chinese Liberated Area Relief Administration, which was the body which coordinated UNRRA relief in that area, and I was sent to South Hopei by UNRRA as a tractor instructor and project captain for that particular project.¹

¹ A translation of the lettering, provided the subcommittee by the Library of Congress, is as follows:

"A farewell group picture, taken at Chi Hsien (Hopei Province) in October 1947, in honor of Mr. Hinton, chief liaison officer, with the entire staff of the tractor group of the border area of Shansi, Hopei, Shantung, and Honan Provinces, and the representatives of the local administration and the people."

Mr. MORRIS. And this school is a school under the auspices of UNRRA?

Mr. HINTON. The school in South Hopei, where I taught tractors, was set up under the auspices of UNRRA and the Chinese Liberated Areas Relief Administration. In the Nationalist area they had the CNRRA, the Chinese National Relief Administration. This was the counterpart in the other area.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify this document as yours?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. HINTON. This document that was handed to me is four pages. It does not seem to be complete. It ends in the middle of a sentence. And I wonder what you have to say on that.

Mr. MORRIS. This is one of the documents that you brought to the United States in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. There is no complete document here that I see.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. McManus is under oath, having been sworn yesterday.

Mr. McManus, will you state that this is one of the documents that you took from Mr. Hinton's footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes. That document was taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you read the second—

Mr. HINTON. I would like to have time to read the whole thing, if you don't mind, and I don't want to be rushed like I was yesterday. I didn't even have time to get through the documents yesterday.

Senator WELKER. No; we do not want to rush you, Mr. Hinton. We have only had you twice that I know of before this committee, and you still have not answered the question that I would like you to answer on this framing of legislation. You take all the time you want because I will be with you as long as possible. I will be here so that you will be accommodated. You will not be rushed. But you are going to answer the question.

Counsel, may I offer this suggestion?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. You go ahead and interrogate the witness with respect to any material that you desire, and documents presented to the witness, and if he desires time to read them, he can read them after the hearing is over. I want to hurry along with the hearing on that basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may the whole document go in the record?

Senator WELKER. It will be admitted in the record and made a part thereof.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 36" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 36

How can our life be described in a few short pages? Where to begin and what to leave out?

In the beginning we had a few tractors left by UNRRA, a few wrenches, files, hammers, and odd bolts, no books, no classrooms, not even a roof to call our own. The brick and mud houses we slept in, the windswept courtyard where we held classes, and the shed where the tractors were kept were all borrowed from the villagers of Nan Liang Chuang, a tiny community lost in the vastness of the North China plain. They had not so long ago been the property of a big landlord, but were now part of the "struggle fruits" which were the property of the village

as a whole pending final distribution to the poor. The landlord still lived in our midst and glumly watched our comings and goings. His little son, about 3 years old, used to call names and throw stones when we went by. Every night we mounted guard in turns lest something happen to our precious machines or to our small stock of gasoline which had come by mulecart all the way from Tsinan city where it was liberated in the first thrust of the great fall offensive in 1948.

Most of the 70 young students—among them 3 girls—had never seen an engine of any kind before. They were from county schools, farms, shops, local government offices, and the army. The very word tractor was like magic to them, opening up a limitless future. It meant leaving behind all the filth and misery of feudal life and entering a new era of mechanization. Everyone knew that socialism was far off in China, but these young people felt that they already had one foot in the door of socialism when they climbed on to a tractor. In spite of the cold, the dilapidated buildings, the rough food, and the lack of any kind of fanfare, we all felt that China's future lay in our hands.

We held classes in a broken-down courtyard under the open sky. The students sat on little piles of bricks or pieces of wood and took down notes according to their ability. Those who couldn't write just listened and looked. Sometimes when the wind was from the north, their fingers turned blue with cold and their teeth chattered, but we went on with the classes just the same.

After classes there was study, self-study and group study, mutual aid, and competition between groups. Each group used to think up hard questions for the other groups to answer, and if there was any doubt the question were referred to me for final solution. In this way all progressed together and we moved rapidly ahead taking the tractors apart piece by piece until no two parts remained stuck together. They insisted on seeing everything down to the smallest wire, the smallest nut. Nothing approximate would do.

Then came the practical work, plowing the wasteland. The war was not over then, not even in North China and we had to organize air precautions and keep a sharp lookout for bombers. Actually none came in the end—only transports almost daily flying to Taiyuan to evacuate the old criminal Yen Shi Shan. After Taiyuan fell we never saw another plane.

The first few weeks in the field were hectic—small breakdowns everywhere and nothing but inexperience to meet them. They kept me running—testing a spark plug here, cleaning out a gasoline there, adjusting the points on one tractor and the timing on another—but gradually the students got used to the machines and could begin to tell from the sound of the engines what was wrong. Then the pace of my work slowed down.

By June it became very hot. We decided to plow at night and rest in the daytime. A marvelous sight, the night plowing—30 bright lights in the blackness and the dull roar of 60 cylinders. Peasants in some of the remoter villages thought it was devils out dancing in the wasteland and dared not leave their houses until dawn.

The problem at this time was to instill in the boys and girls a real love for machines, to make them ashamed of the least bit of dirt, to make them listen for the least change in sound, and to pay strict attention to all oil changes, greasings, adjustments, and other essentials of servicing. "Don't let little troubles change into big ones"; "Use your head instead of your brawn"; "Maintenance is the basis of successful tractor operation" were three of the slogans I used to hammer on. In time these began to have real results. But they would have been of little use without the political education which went on continuously, not only for the students but for the cadres, the cooks, and work, hard dirty greasy work, often ending in failure.

Much later after the establishment of the Central Government, after we had moved to Peiping, at the opening of another tractor school, the vice minister of agriculture told us, "You are the field army of the wastelands, and where are the wastelands—in the suburbs of Peking? In Tientsin's Central Park? No, the wastelands are in the wilderness—North Chanar, Central Honan flooded area, the steppes of Sinkiang, the plains of North Manchuria. Wherever it is most isolated and difficult, there we must expect to go. One thing is certain, if we don't go there the imperialists will. If we don't open up the vast resources of our country, the imperialists will find a way. Hence I expect all of you to go wherever you are needed, wherever you are sent in the true spirit of service to the people."

This spirit gradually built up among the cadres and workers, enabled them to look on the tractors, plows, and grain drills as part of the people's property which they must love, protect, and care for just as they would their own children.

One frosty night, long after everyone had gone to bed, I began to worry lest the tractor radiators and blocks had not been drained although it was supposed to be routine. I got up to have a look but as I went out the gate, I met a shivering student coming back from the tractor shed. "It's all right," he said. "I've checked them all. I couldn't sleep for thinking of it so I got up to take a look." This is but one small incident out of hundreds.

Does this mean that we had no problems or made no mistakes? Far from it. Tractor experts are not created in a few months' time. In spite of the real desire and effort to do things right and (remainder of document not found).

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to read just these portions of it:

In the beginning we had a few tractors left by UNRRA, a few wrenches, files, hammers, and odd bolts, no books, no classrooms, not even a roof to call our own.

Another part of the letter:

Most of the 70 young students—among them 3 girls—had never seen an engine of any kind before * * * Everyone knew that socialism was far off in China, but these young people felt that they already had one foot in the door of Socialism when they climbed on to a tractor * * *

We held classes in a broken-down courtroom under the open sky.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. "Courtyard."

Mr. MORRIS. (reading):

Much later after the establishment of the Central Government, after we had moved to Peiping, at the opening of another tractor school, the vice minister of agriculture told us, "You are the field army of the wastelands, and where are the wastelands—in the suburbs of Peking? In Tientsin's Central Park? No—the wastelands are in the wilderness—North Chanar, Central Honan flooded area, the steppes of Sinkiang, the plains of North Manchuria. Wherever it is most isolated and difficult, there we must expect to go. One thing is certain, if we don't go there the imperialists will. If we don't open up the vast resources of our country, the imperialists will find a way.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I say that while in general the statement read by Judge Morris is identical with the letter I have before me, it was not in all respects identical.

For instance, Judge Morris, it did not say, "Wherever it is most isolated and difficult, that there we must go." It says, "Wherever it is most isolated and difficult, there we must expect to go."

Now, I do not know whether there are any other errors. But this one I did notice.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, counsel.

Senator WELKER. Thank you very much, counsel. I am glad you brought that to our attention.

Did you so write that letter, Mr. Hinton? Mr. Hinton, may I have your attention?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Did you so write the letter, or portions of the letter that counsel asked you about?

Mr. HINTON. I haven't finished reading it yet.

Senator WELKER. I am asking you, did you write the portions that counsel asked you about?

Mr. HINTON. I would like to read the whole letter first.

Senator WELKER. Will you answer the question? You are ordered and directed to.

Mr. HINTON. I don't think I can answer that without reading the whole thing, to see what it is.

Senator WELKER. Will you say that you did not write that portion?

Mr. HINTON. I don't think I can answer that without reading the whole thing. The whole thing isn't even a complete document.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Have you finished the document?

Mr. HINTON. I am fairly near through reading it. I don't want to be rushed.

Senator WELKER. Go right ahead and read it.

Mr. HINTON. I don't want to be rushed. After all, what was taken from me, was taken 3 years ago.

Senator WELKER. I have heard that. I heard that all day yesterday.

Mr. HINTON. I am going to repeat it again and again, too.

Senator WELKER. And I have heard it all day yesterday. And this committee will sit—I want to inform you that I will sit on night sessions and on Saturday and every day necessary to get you to answer the questions propounded to you by the committee.

Mr. HINTON. I am sure the taxpayers will be pleased to hear that.

Senator WELKER. Well, I am certain there are a lot of taxpayers who would be pleased, if they saw your activities and heard your answers, sir. There are a few people in America that would like to hear you. I am sorry they cannot all hear you.

(Witness confers with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds as before, the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Let the record show that the committee recognizes the right of the witness to avail himself of the fifth amendment. We do not recognize the right under the first and fourth amendments.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to also request that the whole of what is there would be in the record. I would like to protest that that does not seem to be a whole document.

Senator WELKER. How would you know whether or not it is a whole document?

Mr. HINTON. It ends in the middle of a sentence.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Do you think that perhaps that is not your document because it ends in the middle of a sentence?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't say that. I said it looks to me like it is not a complete document.

Senator WELKER. Very well. It will speak for itself whether or not it is complete.

Do you want to tell us whether or not it is your document? Did you ever write that, whether it be complete or incomplete?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. On the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the fifth amendment—the first and the fourth and the fifth amendments. I know you don't recognize the fourth amendment, but I would like to have your permission to read it, if you don't mind.

Senator WELKER. I do not think I need any help from you, and it will not be read. You are up here to answer questions about that, and not to tell the committee.

Mr. HINTON. Many people are not familiar with that. I would like to state that as grounds for not speaking on any of this matter. What it says is:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation,

and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

That is what the fourth amendment says.

Senator WELKER. Is that right?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Where did you learn that?

Mr. HINTON. I would like to have that in the record.

Senator WELKER. Did you learn that in the tractor school in Red China?

Mr. HINTON. I learned that from the Bill of Rights.

Senator WELKER. Oh. You are pretty proud of that Bill of Rights, the first and fourth and fifth amendments?

Mr. HINTON. Yes. And I notice you aren't very proud of it. You said yesterday if it weren't for the fifth amendment—obviously, you would like to get rid of that fifth amendment, wouldn't you, and the fourth, and the whole Bill of Rights?

Senator WELKER. I would like to get rid of it when it came to witnesses like you.

Mr. HINTON. Yes. I know you don't support the Bill of Rights. That is true. But I do.

Senator WELKER. Any time the fifth amendment is taken advantage of by a man like you, I say it is time for the Congress to do something.

Mr. HINTON. Now, you are drawing inferences again.

Senator WELKER. You are doing a very great disservice to the people who could use the fifth amendment.

Mr. HINTON. Now you are drawing inferences again, and you are not—

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel. I am not going to argue with this witness until I take you on cross-examination, and we will go quite a length into your whole background. You are not going to paint yourself as the lily-white angel you would like the audience to believe you to be.

Mr. HINTON. You are not in Denver now, Senator Welker. You are not in Denver now.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the document, please?

Senator WELKER. And you are not in Red China now, either.

Mr. McMANUS. This is a document which was found in the footlocker of Mr. Hinton.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the sections from that, please?

Mr. McMANUS (reading):

Now, though stationed at Shangchias—

and there is a question mark because the typist was not clear as to whether that was the correct spelling—

Now, though stationed at Shangchias (?) farm, my work mainly consists of going from farm to farm, looking into the way things are done, helping to solve problems, criticizing and encouraging. To arrive at any of the State farms is like a homecoming for me, for almost all of the drivers are my students, old friends and comrades.

Next section:

It was while we were assembling the combines for the 10,000 mou wheat harvest that the Stockholm peace appeal reached the Chi-Heng State Farm. It was discussed for several days and was signed by everyone. A few drivers wondered whether signing their names on a sheet of paper would be any good. For every child knows that it was armed struggle that liberated China.

Next section :

I mentioned political study at the beginning of this article, and I think it will make a good subject for the ending, for of all the things I have seen in this last year and a half, the most striking has been the development of the cadres and workers through the political education led by the Communist Party.

* * * * *

Day by day, step by step, all these problems are being solved. Through countless work-review meetings, and meetings for self and mutual criticism, the people are gradually being united and steeled. The intellectuals are learning to labor, and to accept discipline, the skilled workers are learning to share what they know * * *

Mr. MORRIS. And the last paragraph, Mr. McManus.

Mr. McMANUS (reading) :

* * * We are planting wheat, but we are also planting the seeds of a tremendous change in rural China. That is why at this time, when the war is not yet over, and conditions are far from ideal, we are pushing ahead with mechanized farming, training workers and cadres, establishing a base, however small, which will someday transform Asia.

Senator WELKER. That will go into the record and be made a part thereof.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 37" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 37

Now, though stationed at Shangchia (?) farm, my work mainly consists of going from farm to farm, looking into the way things are done, helping to solve problems, criticizing and encouraging. To arrive at any of the state farms is like a homecoming for me, for almost all of the drivers are my students, old friends and comrades. It doesn't take long to find out what the situation is in every department. Everyone is anxious to tell about his or her work and about the farm as whole—both the strong points and the weaknesses. And besides business there are always a host of other things to catch up on, marriages, new children born, the election of model workers, and the reactions of everyone to the latest developments in world politics. Our farms may be isolated physically, but they are certainly not cut off intellectually or politically. Every day, no matter how busy the work is, there is at least an hour or two of political study, and if it can't be carried out in an organized way during the heaviest rush of work, it is done individually through reading the paper whenever there is a spare moment.

It was while we were assembling the combines for the 10,000 mou wheat harvest that the Stockholm peace appeal reached the Chi-Heng State Farm. It was discussed for several days and was signed by everyone. A few drivers wondered whether signing their names on a sheet of paper would be any good, for every child knows that it was armed struggle that liberated China.

"It isn't just your name on the paper," one girl driver explained. "Signing your name means that you know what is at stake and that you will do everything in your power to strengthen world peace—practically it means you'll work harder than you ever worked in your life to get in this harvest, and see that nothing happens to your machine, care for it like a baby. That's the way to push ahead the reconstruction of our country and make it strong."

I mentioned political study at the beginning of this article, and I think it will make a good subject for the ending, for of all the things I have seen in this last year and a half, the most striking has been the development of the cadres and workers through the political education led by the Communist Party.

I once made a little speech before sowing began in which I said that the machines were the most important thing on the farm. Later a young driver came up (at the age of 15 he had been the leader of his village militia and once killed 15 Japanese at one place with stone mines). He told me: "The machines are important, but much more important are the men. Without them there would be nothing at all not to mention machines. Their well-being, their spirit, their progress, must be the first concern of everyone."

He had lived all his life in a remote mountain village but he knew what was what. He expressed the spirit of the whole revolution. The well-being, the spirit, and the progress of men is the main thing here, and a place has been

found in the revolutionary camp for all but the most hard-bitten reactionaries and criminals.

All sorts of people have joined our work with all kinds of motives. Some thought they could earn a lot more money if they learned a trade, some thought once they learned to drive a tractor they could become truck drivers and ride from city to city living a high life. Others came for the glory of it and wavered when they found out what a hard life it really was. One was sent to a farm near a large city and was overcome by the glitter and style of city life, a problem which Chairman Mao long ago warned us about. He took some public money, bought a fountain pen and some bright leather shoes and disappeared for half a year. Now he is back, resolved to be steady and he has been given another chance. Workers from newly liberated Peijing brought with them technical selfishness—that society secretiveness regarding technical skills. Intellectuals and students brought with them many of the weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie and even of the landlord class—vanity, libertarianism, love of comfort. Some wanted this work, but not that, they would here, but not there.

Day by day, step by step, all these problems are being solved. Through countless work-review meetings and meeting for self and mutual criticism, the people are gradually being united and steeled. The intellectuals are learning to labor, and to accept discipline, the skilled workers are learning to share what they know. Everyone, including those who came to earn money, is learning what it means to serve the people.

As the work expanded and we became responsible for a whole string of farms instead of only one, technical difficulties increased enormously. Four different makes of tractors and as many kinds of trucks were in use, to say nothing of the various types and styles of farm machinery which we had inherited from UNRRA. Of the thousands of different types of parts needed, almost none could be bought, and those we hastily had made could not always stand up to the rugged pounding which they met in overcoming tough wasteland in the hands of inexperienced drivers.

Although the farms were chosen with an eye to communications, still it often took as much as 4 days to reach the city from them, and since no farm had a lathe or anything more advanced than a hand-turned drill, to break even the simplest part often meant a trip to the city and the loss of a week's work.

Lubricating oil was almost impossible to buy in all the types and grades which we knew to be necessary. After the KMT collapse, there was an enormous quantity of oil stacked up in the big cities, but it was all mixed up and it was almost impossible to determine quality and viscosity. To buy 1 or 2 drums was easy enough, but to buy 30 or 40 drums of top-quality oil was a different matter. The oil merchants are past masters at mixing in vegetable oil, replacing labels, putting on new seals, and all the other tricks of the trade. We had to feel our way about very carefully.

This stage of the work, like every other, began with my doing the work myself, until other cadres could be trained and an organization set up to handle it.

Now even the smallest drivers can crank the ATZ's. They say, "Labor creates everything, even men. When the tractors first came, not one of us could turn the crank over. But look at us now."

Of course the tractors were new and stiff that night, but so were the boys. Now their muscles bulge out and they know when to push, when to pull, and when to slack off.

Each step in our progress cost us effort like that. To suddenly launch large scale mechanized agriculture in a China just emerging from feudalism is to go into a real battle. In a thousand ways conditions are not ripe—without an industrial base, with meager communications, without native fuels or lubricants, with few or no technical cadres—the obstacles are enormous.

I remember a young mechanic from Peijing who was sent to a new State Farm not far from the Yellow River. It had once been a Japanese rice farm. Guerrillas had killed a number of Jap officers and men. Some of the older peasants believed that the ghosts of those imperialist devils still haunted the area. Also the drinking water was bad there and they had a saying: "Drink the water of ten mile village and the devils will grab your legs."

The tractors broke down one after the other, they had no spare parts and only a few simple tools. The spring plowing of land was far from complete and they were way behind schedule. The boy worried day and night about the tractors, listened to the weird ghost stories of the villagers, drank the rank water, and finally fell ill. He began to see little devils running in and out of his room,

and crawling over the furniture. He locked the door, bolted the window, hid his head under the blankets and cried.

"Send me back to Peijing," he sobbed. "Send me back to Peijing."

That young mechanic almost cracked mentally, but not quite. They nursed him back to health, and while he was recovering, a mobile machine shop arrived from the Soviet Union complete with a lathe and hundreds of tools and drawers full of materials. A machinist and a fitter. In the end 10,000 mou of cotton were planted on time.

"We have difficulties, but we also have solutions," Mao Tse Tung has said. And so it is, for these are the difficulties of progress, and one by one we shall overcome them all. When I look back on the last year and a half, it seems as if at least 5 years have gone by. We have come so far. From nothing we have grown to several thousand strong with drivers, team leaders, mechanics, accountants, agricultural specialists, managers, a school, a supply base, a bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture. Farflung areas of wasteland have been plowed up—altogether over 300,000 mou. And we have taken in our first harvest, the first 100 percent mechanized harvest in China's history. In a year and a half, peasants and soldiers have become combine operators. Nothing is impossible in our new China.

The harvest was like a miracle to the peasants. At one farm 10,000 mou of wheat were fast ripening but no one was going around lining up harvest labor. Instead, in the farm's backyard, a few dozen people were putting together some strange pieces of tin and wire. The peasants shook their heads. A few of the more backward ones even made plans to do a little harvesting of their own on Government land, since obviously we were unable to cope with the task.

The peasants' wheat had already been cut and hauled home before we even began. Then one fine day, eight big combines went to work, and they worked not only in the daytime but all night long as well. Each morning the villages awoke to find another thousand mou or two of stubble instead of waving wheat.

"That thing will do the work of 200 men," they said. "One to a village would be enough to solve the harvest problem."

And so bit by bit new ideas penetrate the peasants' consciousness, and the news is passed far and wide by word of mouth. We are planting wheat but we are also planting the seeds of a tremendous change in rural China. That is why at this time, when the war is not yet over, and conditions are far from ideal, we are pushing ahead with mechanized farming, training workers and cadres, establishing a base, however small, which will someday transform Asia.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify that as a paper taken from your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I haven't had time to read it. Will you give me a chance to read it?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There are about seven pages.

Mr. HINTON. There are about seven pages here.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not have to read it to know whether it is a document taken from your footlocker.

Mr. HINTON. I certainly would have to read it to know that. That would be a very unreasonable demand.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, you sort of change your propeller pitch a little bit from yesterday. Yesterday you refused to read any of these documents because of the fact that you allege they were taken illegally from you. Now you want—

Mr. HINTON. I refused to read documents yesterday? You didn't give me time to read documents yesterday.

Senator WELKER. Did you not state yesterday—

Mr. HINTON. You rushed me several times. You get out the record from yesterday, and you will see if I didn't protest that I didn't have time to read the documents.

Senator WELKER. I know what you want to do.

Mr. HINTON. You get out the record and see if I refused—

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Didn't you tell counsel yesterday that in response to his invitation for you and your counsel to examine the exhibits and read them, you refused to do so upon the grounds that they were illegally taken from you by Customs and by this committee?

Mr. HINTON. Prior to the hearing, that is correct.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. HINTON. I am now forced to come down here by subpoena, and sworn under oath, and told to read documents.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. HINTON. And I am now reading documents, and I am asking for time to read them.

Senator WELKER. And you do not think the reading of the document now might hurt your chances under the fourth amendment, the illegal searches and seizures amendment, that you quoted a moment ago?

Mr. HINTON. I am doing what I am told here, and——

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). And what happens about that will remain to be seen.

Senator WELKER. That will remain to be seen.

Counsel, proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the next document, Mr. McManus? I give you a document. Will you identify this as a paper from the footlocker of Mr. Hinton?

Mr. McMANUS. I identify this as a paper taken from the footlocker of Mr. Hinton.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the date on that?

Mr. McMANUS. Mukden, April 4th. There is no year.

Mr. MORRIS. How many pages are there?

Mr. McMANUS. There are two single-spaced sheets, each written on both sides.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you show that to the witness?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. HINTON. I would like to state right here and now that there is no typewritten material; there were no papers, typewritten notes or letters in the footlocker that I put in bond, that was sent through to the Customs.

Mr. MORRIS. You deny that that paper was in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I say there were no typewritten papers in my footlocker that was in bond, sent to the Customs.

Mr. MORRIS. I can only conclude from that statement that that, therefore, did not appear in your footlocker.

Mr. HINTON. That is what I am saying.

Wait a minute—that that did not appear in my footlocker. I am not——

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, do you mean by your statement that there were no carbon copies of any typewritten documents in your footlocker?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. No. I mean there were no letters, carbon or otherwise: there were no notes, typewritten, carbon or otherwise, in the footlocker.

Senator WELKER. Then it is your testimony that these exhibits were placed there by some person other than yourself or your agent; is that correct?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. If these were there at all, that is correct.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that document go in the record as having been identified by Mr. McManus as a paper taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker?

Senator WELKER. It will be so admitted as a part of the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 38" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 38

MUKDEN, April 4th.

DEAREST BERTHEE: How are you? I have received no letters for ever so long because the people in Shanghai figure I will be back soon and they don't forward anything to me. Right now I'm sick in bed, running at both ends, but it doesn't seem to be sprue any more, just some bug I picked up. Started out with a mild sneezing fit, then a runny nose, and then the GI's, plus something of a fever. I guess I'll be up and around in a couple of days. Right now I am on a liquid diet, but no medicine. Evidently our doctor here doesn't believe in the germ theory. He is an interesting man. He is from Chekoslovakia, evidently a Jew. Like so many of the UNRRA medical personnel, he fought in Spain.

When I am not busy, as now, often I think of you, and I wonder how you are getting on. Also I think about how awful it must have been living with me. I was so sullen all the time and so hard to arouse out of lethargy. It seems as if I never did the dishes or helped you with the meals or ever did anything to please you. How could I have been in such a mood? Ordinarily I am quite cheerful (oh dear, something funny happened just now. Writing this I suddenly burst into tears and just then somebody walked in the door and here I was with my face all wet. I had to pretend I had had a heavy coughing spell that brought tears to my eyes. Anyway the visitor, it was Frank Wallick, one of the BSU boys who is here, cheered me considerably with a brief discussion of politics. I wonder if he believed my coughing tale. Isn't it strange how low you can feel when you are sick?).

Have just read two books, *China's Destiny*, by Chiang Kai-shek, and *The Sword and the Crysanthemum*, by Ruth Benedict. I found the Roy edition of Chiang's book in Shanghai, but hadn't had a chance to read it until now. It certainly is a strange book. My chief impression is of an extremely muddled, irrational, childish outpouring of which any Occidental would be ashamed. The chapters are thrown together in the most haphazard fashion and there is no attempt at logical development. Paragraphs about quite unrelated things follow each other page after page, and it is very difficult to read—something like walking through a patch of weeds. The main theme of the book seems to revolve around the unequal treaties forced on China by the Western powers and Japan. All China's past troubles are laid to these treaties. All credit for the abolition of the treaties is given to the Kuomintang. This point is stressed again and again in all manner of direct and indirect ways. Although the argument in the book itself is not built up logically at all, when reduced to essentials it seems to run like this—In ancient China, things were fine. Laws were just, rulers wise, people well fed, the state well protected, and culture highly developed. The unequal treaties changed all this, China was enslaved, unbalanced industry was created along the coast, vice and profiteering were encouraged and all China's ancient virtues were abused and destroyed. 50 years of revolutionary effort on the part of the Kuomintang finally led to the abolishment of the unequal treaties. In 1943 England and America gave up extraterritoriality, turned over foreign concessions to China and restored China to full sovereignty once more. This the Kuomintang accomplished singlehanded and the Chinese people should properly appreciate it. Surely the party which led them to such a glorious victory deserves their wholehearted cooperation and support. How can that party be wrong when it has such accomplishments to its credit. The people are urged to take the slogan "to know is difficult, to act is easy" to heart. Since Confucius said: "The people

may be made to follow a course of action, but they must not be expected to understand." it follows that everyone should put implicit trust in the government and unite to carry out its policies with the utmost sincerity. Even when these policies appear to be failing, as during the war under one defeat after the other, the people must realize that, "as far as the question of the survival or destruction of the state is concerned, the correctness or incorrectness of the policy decided upon by the government is more important in its invisible influence than in its visible results in victory or defeat. Therefore our citizens must pay special attention to, and not for a moment neglect, the duty of obeying the state's policy and working to carry out that policy. If there is the least carelessness in carrying out the correct state policy, or if we permit it to be destroyed by those who are superficially dishonest, or radical, then the future of the state and nation will be one of a myriad calamities from which we will be unable to recover." The tone of the book is definitely defensive. Chiang adopts a hurt and misunderstood tone throughout. He grants once, that the Kuomintang may have erred, but urges only that people join the party and help correct mistakes. He takes great pains to state over and over again that the Three Peoples Principles are based on morality, justice, and wisdom without ever explaining in concrete terms what the principles are or mean. Only the Kuomintang follows the Three Principles and the people should unite behind it to carry out the reconstruction and save the nation. He then resorts to threats. Opposition will do no good. If opposition continues, national reconstruction will be impossible, intelligent people will not be able to unite to help their country and the Kuomintang will not be able to fulfill its responsibilities and duties to the people. What's more, opposition will be defeated. The Kuomintang has crushed all opposition in the past and will do so in the future. Chiang quotes a lovely paragraph from Confucius. It seems a certain Chao-cheng Mou used his house as a gathering place for opposition elements, he had unorthodox theories pleasing to the multitude and upsetting to the right, his arguments constituted a new and independent theory. For these crimes, which Confucius considered far worse than robbery, Chao-cheng Mou was put to death by Confucius himself. He was "a villain among men" and had to "be eliminated."

The book is liberally sprinkled with revolutionary phrases and peons [sic] of praise to democracies and freedom. Nowhere are these brought down to earth. Chiang takes particular pains to point out that "freedom" must be restricted by law and discipline "in order to designate the duties and privileges of each individual." "We lay the foundation of democracy through the firm establishment of Government by law." After all, says he, we do not want to be gypsies, "we must accept laws, decrees, and orders with a consecrated mind and solemn purpose and carry them out in a voluntary and active spirit." His discussion of the machinery of democracy is limited to vague reference to local self-government which is the integral part of the state. Aside from reprinting in full the paper plans of Sun Yat-sen for economic development, naming the number of people needed to carry it out, and urging everyone to get busy, his proposals on economic problems are extremely vague. The following is typical: "We solve the problems of the people's livelihood through the adjustment of the surpluses and deficiencies in the public and private economy according to uniform and fair lines of reasoning." One thing is made clear, however: There will be no place in China's future economy for private initiating of enterprise. Chiang intended that the government carry out the industrialization and continue to control and own it.

The whole "Chinese economic theory" that is included in the Roy Volume is a hodgepodge of nonsense full of contradictions and absurd statements. Both orthodox and Marxist economic theories are labeled inadequate, while the ancient sages of China are reported to have all the answers. The sentence "where there are, or where there is land, Where there is land there is money. Where there is money, there is use for it." Is considered to be the profoundest statement on economics ever written. People's wants, being materialistic are unimportant—man's rational nature, not his wants are supposed to be the basis of the theory. Yet there is a whole chapter on satisfying the people's wants and restricting them. Much vague talk is directed toward the raising of trees and thus insuring national defense. Culture is in some vague way identified with peoples livelihood, and the peoples livelihood is then said to be the basis of national defense.—and so it goes on in illogical stupidity denouncing everything foreign, affirming faith in a feudal economy of man and land and quoting ancient Chinese sages in support of "managing men and adjusting things" by a

paternalistic government. Small wonder China's intellectuals have little regard for Chiang.

Ruth Benedict's book is interesting, though I don't agree with all her conclusions. She seems to take at face value the mores and ethics of Japan's ruling clique and regard it as uniform throughout the nation. Nowhere is there any indication that revolts against this rigid system of duties and obligations existed. At one point she says that were a Japanese to harbor "dangerous thoughts," he would immediately be ashamed for not having lived up to his obligations to the Emperor, fear of disapproval or fancied disapproval by the world for failure to live up to all obligations is the motivation behind the conduct of all Japanese. How then explain the prisons full of men who did harbor dangerous thoughts. The rapidly growing Union movements, the thousands who died in opposition to the established ruler. She says nothing of these, never hints that there were any cracks in Japan's social structure, denies that class war ever existed or can exist, and paints the picture of a society absolutely in harmony, united fully behind the Emperor, and strictly observing all the traditional practice. It seems to me an extremely limited view. Being an anthropologist she explains Japan's aggressiveness strictly on cultural grounds, America insulted the Japanese by the exclusion act and the naval treaties and insults must traditionally be revenged, therefore Japan went to war with the U. S. She upholds our decisions on retaining the Emperor and thinks MacArthur did a marvelous job taking over and running Japan. She wrote the book as a result of a study undertaken for the Office of War Information. Evidently some of her conclusions were used as a basis for the handling of propaganda to Japan, and for high policy decisions such as the retention of the Emperor. Taking for granted, as she seemed to, that America has no aim in the Pacific other than the establishment of democracy everywhere, she makes a good case for American decisions. However, American factions since V-J Day, both here and in other parts of the world indicate that Washington policy-makers may have other ends in view. The Imperial system of Japan fits in as well with (?) other schemes that it is hard to take Democratic protestations at face value. The books begin to look like a very learned justification for maintaining a fascistic social system in Japan as one steppingstone to a still larger American empire in the Far East. She says leaving Hirohito alone was the correct policy. Perhaps it ended the war sooner not to touch him, but of what use was ending the war if the social system which caused 50 years of Japanese aggression remains intact. How can we be sure that the future might not have been better served had the Emperor and the whole ruling class been destroyed. The Emperor chose to surrender, but as I see it, it was only because we guaranteed both him and his ruling clique continued power. If our objections had been, and it seems to me it should have been, the destruction of this clique and the overthrow of the Emperor he and they would never have surrendered. They would have gone down to utter defeat and the foundations for a really new Japan might have been laid, but perhaps after all, it is for the best, for the Japanese people themselves may take care of this problem in spite of us and the Emperor.

Enough of books. Spring is coming here and the tractor program is very far behind. We have laid great plans for bring 200 into Manchuria, who are now in the process of visiting the places where the tractors will be based. We have seen five already but still have five to see. In the meantime I am hid up and Harry Sherwood, the machinery man from Mancey Harris, is having to go without me. It is quite a job traveling over the country here, getting on the filthy, crowded, train, riding for hours on and on. Then looking up some cold filthy hotel to sleep the night in. The other night, the only place that was open had but one room on the 3d floor. We were afraid to sleep on the straw tick that was on it for fear of bugs, so we threw that on the floor and slept on the iron springs without anything but our sleeping bags beneath us. It was the most uncomfortable night I ever spent. By morning my whole body ached and I was branded with diamonds from head to foot where the springs pressed into my flesh. The place proved to be more than a simple hotel, it was full of girls, who were evidently to be had at a price and we carefully locked the door to keep from being disturbed. The town is as usual in these parts, a drab dirty one, with none of the charm of southern Chinese cities. It was full of soldiers, police, and gendarmes and it turned out that the local magistrate was, as is customary, a man from the south. Honan, it was this time. They had in mind an experimental farm outside the city and we went out in horse carriages through the mud. We passed a mile or two of housing development built by the Japanese and a few scattered factories. All were looted. Windows were

smashed. Roofs torn off and the hardware removed. This was, of course, blamed on the Russians, but as we returned we saw a group of KMT soldiers busy carrying away the boards that were obviously torn from the houses. The looting is still going on. The experiment station was all by itself in the country by some rather high hills and just north of a small village. The trees are just beginning to bud there and the birds are returning. They were chirping busily in the branches and flitting here and there. The enormous plain stretched away to the west with the small piles of compost put out already by the farmer dotting the land here and there. I thought it a rather lovely place, the only one we have visited so far that is not in the midst of the factory district. We found a very suitable building and a good place for a living quarters for the personnel and we returned to Mukden rather pleased.

I don't remember if I wrote you about MacKonkey, the Canadian, Agrehab officer here. He is a large man with wavy white hair and a mustache just turning gray. He looks exactly like one of Calvert Whiskey's men of distinction. Ordinarily he wears a long great coat and a large fur hat and looks for all the world like a Russian general. This causes him no little trouble as the Kuomintang is very anti-Russian, and restricts the movements of Russians wherever possible. The other day he left his coat and briefcase outside the diningroom while eating dinner. When he came out they were both gone. What a blow. Emperor Mackonkey as he is called by all UNRRA people, was now an Emperor without portfolio, also without coat, and it is still cold here. In his regal way he summoned the police, the management, the Army, the gendarmes and the newspapers and launched a campaign to get back his coat and briefcase. Twelve policemen showed up at one time and five truckloads were dispatched to the station to check on those going out and coming in. Speculation was rife as to who could have taken the coat in the midst of Mukden's finest hotel in the broad daylight. It turned out that the guard at the back entrance had seen a soldier walk out with a coat over his arm and a briefcase in one hand but had failed to stop him as he walked with such confidence. Colonel Sammy, aide to General Tu Yu Ming, Commander in chief of the Armies in the Northeast took a personal interest in the case. After two days without results he informed us in hushed tones that in his opinion it must have been Communist agents. These dangerous gentlemen, it seems, are always looking for foreign uniforms in which to disguise themselves for confusion at the front and for spying. The authorities here are Communist spy crazy. Last night in the hotel the railroad police celebrated the completion of one year in Manchuria. Height of the evening was a play which our people thought was going to be comedy. It started out with what appeared to be a two-timing wife whose husband had suddenly come home to find several suitors in attention. There was a great quarrel which ended with the husband being laid out as dead on the table and the wife in spasms of grief. The cook then suddenly revealed himself as a Communist spy who offered to get the woman out of her fix if she would turn over to him certain important papers in her husband's possession. This the patriotic girl steadfastly refused to do and the Red drew a gun, as he advanced on the girl past the husband he suddenly arose, jammed his finger in the spy's back, forced him to drop the gun, as the latter thought the finger in his own ribs was another, and then called for his own personal servant. The servant also turned out to a Communist, and he pulled a gun on the husband, and the two nasty Reds were about to make their escape when who should arrive on the scene but 70 of the Northeast Railway Police, armed to the death, and shouting victory is ours. As a final touch the husband removed his gown to reveal that he was none other than the commander of the police force, and that the whole plot had been arranged as a trap for the Reds. Tarantara, Tarantara.

Another example of this Red hysteria took place when Dr. Pan, head of the Agricultural Department for the Northeast, announced that he was going to verbally examine the more than 145 applicants for positions as tractor drivers. This was necessary, he said, in order to weed out any Communists. He assures us he can tell a Communist by talking to him. This Pan has found an excellent man to head up the tractor program here. This super-special tractor specialist spent 12 years in Germany both as a student and as a manager contractor operations in the field. He did such good work that he was awarded a medal by Hitler himself. I feel our project is most certainly in safe hands. We may have a few Reds in the ranks, but the high command will most certainly be held by men of high moral standing. It is not everyone that can boast a decoration by so renowned an upholder of western civilization as Hitler. Of course he and I have something in common, as I myself once saw the great man as he skimmed up the Rhine in a motor boat, and a very vigorous salute he got from me, too.

Just heard a report that another UNRRA ship bound for Communist ports in Shantung was bombed and strafed by Nationalist planes. That should certainly teach UNRRA to keep its hands out of politics and not to meddle where it is not wanted. It only prolongs the civil war to render aid to victims of Japanese aggression on the wrong side of the lines, and the Chinese people will certainly not tolerate anyone whose efforts prolong the war in whatever form. Just 1 month ago the same thing happened, the whole of UNRRA protested to the government and got a guarantee of safety from the Army and the Navy. As far as I know, they never did get one from the air force, which of course could not limit its activities at the request of a mere international agency.

Mr. HINTON. Are we going to have time to read these documents?

Senator WELKER. You will have all the time you need to read these documents after the session is over, or tomorrow or the next day or at any future time.

Mr. HINTON. Then why bring them down here?

Senator WELKER. If you do not want to see them, that is all right with me, to save us time. We want to be fair with you, and we want to be fair with your eminent counsel.

Mr. HINTON. Can I read it, then?

Senator WELKER. You can read the Literary Digest there, as far as I am concerned. But we are going to proceed with this hearing as we planned it. We have these things to go in the record, and they are going into the record. We are not going to be delayed by you any longer.

Mr. HINTON. Then you refuse me the right to read these papers?

Senator WELKER. I am not refusing you the right to do anything, sir.

Mr. HINTON. Then you have to give me time to read them.

Senator WELKER. I am insisting on counsel's putting in the exhibits that must go into the record. Then we will go at length into this matter. Do not think for a moment that we are hurrying this matter.

Mr. HINTON. Then you have to give me time to read them, if you are going to put them in the record.

Senator WELKER. You will read them at the right time.

Mr. HINTON. So you deny me the right to read them?

Senator WELKER. No; I do not deny you the right to read anything. I am telling you, you are not going to deny this committee the right to do its business as it deems best.

Mr. HINTON. You deny me the time to read them. That is the same as the right to read them.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, no doubt you love to argue with the committee.

Mr. HINTON. I don't love to argue. I am down here forced to sit with the committee.

Senator WELKER. I know you are forced to sit here, and it hurts you a great deal.

Mr. HINTON. It certainly does.

Senator WELKER. You are doing your best to minimize the value of your appearance here. I do not desire to argue with you. We have certain work. We have this footlocker evidence that we are going to put into the record, and you are not going to stall or delay it for one moment, as far as this acting chairman is concerned.

Mr. HINTON. Are you going to deny me the time to read the document?

Senator WELKER. We are not interrogating you about that. We are putting these matters into the record, and then we will go to the cross-examination a little later, please, Mr. Hinton. I do not believe yet that you are in charge of the committee work here.

Mr. HINTON. Well, I certainly think it is very unfair that I am denied the time to read the document.

Senator WELKER. I am not going to be bothered about that. We are going ahead. Do not think for a moment that we are just going over these. You are going to be asked many questions about them.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify this paper dated November 22, 1948?

Mr. McMANUS. This is a document which was found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker, when it was opened under my supervision.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that go into the record?

Senator WELKER. It will go into the record and be made a part thereof.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 39" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 39

Nov. 22, 1948.

DEAR MOTHER AND JEAN: Its been a long time since I've written you and a long time since I heard from you. Ways of getting things out and in are getting increasingly slim as one after another of the KMT outposts gets picked off. But soon the situation should change, for at the rate things are going here the whole of China will be liberated soon and then will be able to write just as if we were in Shanghai.

For the last month I have done no work at all, neither at the teaching or in the writing of my book, for General Fu Tso Yi, in command of the KMT troops in North China, decided to raid our area. Since he has a lot of fast-moving cavalry and we had very few troops right here, it was not thought possible to stop him if he really was stupid enough to come on down. There was no chance for him to stay, of course, for he would have been cut off after a week or two, but he could have done a lot of damage. So we all picked up and moved south. The whole university moved on 4 hrs. notice. At 3 o'clock they told us to pack and get ready to leave by 5. That was the first word we had of it. Actually we got on the road by 8. We walked most of the night for 3 nights, sleeping in peasant homes by day, and eating millet which was prepared by a cooking squad which went on ahead. On the fourth day we went on in the daylight and marched another four days until we got to Hsingtai. We stayed there about a week in a small village outside the city. Then it was decided to move back, for Fu Tso Yi, when he heard that Manchuria had folded up completely behind him began to feel the hot breath of the Manchurian troops on his back and ran back to Peiping. It was another week before we got home again to Jeng Ding.

Of course we weren't able to hold any classes all that time and I couldn't do any writing work, but the time was not wasted by any means. For the university leaders took the march as an opportunity to teach all these young intellectuals, many of them from landlord homes, what proletarian solidarity and collective living means. We were all a bunch of individualists to varying degrees, selfish, undisciplined, not caring too much what happened to the others, not too good at obeying instructions and not at all bold about raising opinions about things we thought to be wrong. On the march through many meetings we learned what is meant by discipline and what they call here organizational spirit, which really means a responsible attitude toward the group. On the one hand, all are expected to obey the rules and carry out instructions, and on the other, all are expected to take the problems of the group as their own, to try and help make things go well, to point out what they believe to be wrong about the way things are handled, and to criticize friends, or teachers, or anybody whom they think have not done as they should. At the same time we learned what is meant by mutual help and collective work. Everyone is expected to pitch in, help fix up the rooms for sleeping, fetch water, help the cooking group if they need it, help those who are tired or sick or lame, all this until it becomes

second nature. And further than this we learned what our relations should be with the people. Two things were expected in this regard (1) to help the people with their work, carry water for them, sweep the yards, leave things just as we found them, or better and at the same time learn about the people's life and problems; (2) teach the people something about the present situation in China, about the problems of the war, help them to understand better what is going on.

All this was learned through two methods the first being mutual and self criticism done in an organized way through meetings of small groups. These are called examination meetings, the second was through the election of models. The second really was most successful. We have done so much criticism in the past and these intellectuals are so good at finding fault with each other that to a certain extent, though everyone takes the criticism to heart, many feel a little gloomy about their own shortcomings, but the elections have just the opposite effect in raising the morale of everyone to a tremendous extent. The two systems sort of complement each other of course, for others tell you your own shortcomings and at the same time all together you elect those who did the best.

The elections are done in a unique way which avoids all spirit of competition and individual championship. They were held on three levels. First, people met in groups of about 20 or so. Anyone who thought anyone else should be a model of the group proposed his name with reasons. If the name was seconded, he became a candidate. There was no limit on the number of those nominated, but there was a requirement that his bad points be criticized as well as his good points praised. After the nominations were in, everyone had a chance to add anything about any of the nominees, either of praise or of blame. Then when all had had their say, a vote was taken and anyone who got half the votes of the whole group or more became a model. This was the first step. The second was for the groups to meet together as whole departments, that is the language department met, the history department, etc., and each department again elected from among the small group of models those who were to be department models. The system was for some one from the group to speak for 10 minutes about the reasons why this particular individual was chosen, being careful at the same time to point out his faults. Then there was a few minutes for anyone else to add anything. And in the meantime wall newspapers were put up giving the story of each group model. In this way those of other groups could get an idea of the merits of your own candidates. After all the speaking was over an election was again held and anyone who got half the votes of the whole department was called a model. Our language department chose 8, among them three little orderlies (or little devils as they are called).

Then our whole college met and we went through the speaking and voting process, and put up wall newspapers again. This time we had models from among the cooks, and from those who were in charge of transport, and of moving the sick and women with children. It was a long meeting for even though the speeches were limited to 10 minutes about any one person, there were some 15 who were qualified. I think eight were finally chosen for our college, among them one cook, one little devil, one teacher who had been in charge of the sick and disabled, and five students.

After the elections of individuals, model squads were chosen. On the march everyone had been put into squads either for work or just for walking and those squads were chosen which had worked together and helped one another and maintained morale, etc., the best. The first cooking group and the transport squad were elected.

Well, there isn't time to tell you all the details of this march now, for I must get this letter off today, but I will only say that in these meetings and elections, everyone's actions and attitudes were examined down to the smallest detail. One boy ate a pepper which belonged to a peasant and confessed it. Another had borrowed a bowl to wash clothes in and the old peasant woman from whom he borrowed it thought he washed his feet in it and was upset. He had to apologize to her for something he hadn't done, because she thought he had done it. One girl was ill and was sent to ride on the carts, she took along in her pack things which others had been carrying to lighten their burden but hadn't asked permission. This was not fair and she criticized herself. People were praised for countless things, for putting down their bedding in the worst and toughest and coldest places, offering the good places to others, for giving up their last pair of socks to someone who needed them more, for taking extra pains in looking after the wants of those whom they were to serve (this was the little

devils who were the most cheerful and helpful kids you ever saw) for not grumbling when we lost our way and walked five extra li, for keeping good order at mealtimes and not diving in to get one's own millet without thinking of others, for singing songs even though their voices were no good simply because it helped to keep morale up. The list is too long to begin to cover. But the result of all this was remarkable. A group of individuals who all their lives had more or less looked out for themselves and grumbled about things that went wrong, were in a few days, transformed into a smoothly working team. They began to forget themselves and to strive to be like the models which had been chosen. It was really remarkable to see this change so quickly, and to see the spirits of everyone rise to such heights. One girl who came here simply because her parents in KMT China wouldn't let her marry the boy she wanted to, had three times gone off to see her fiance without permission, once during an air raid, and once on the march itself when we stayed near where the boy lived. She seemed not to realize at all what it meant and resented being told again and again that she was wrong. Suddenly after the elections she changed overnight and did so well from then on we chose her as a model. Anyone who made progress was especially honored and praised.

We were sure surprised to hear that it's Truman again. We all predicted otherwise. That's all for now. Much love. I'm very well but Bertha and Joan haven't come yet and it is hell waiting for them.

Love,

BILLY.

Mr. McMANUS. The document reads: "Dear Mother and Jean, November 22, 1948."

(The document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. HINTON. You can take it back up. If I don't have time to read it, there is no point in bringing it down here.

Also, I would like to protest again about the use of personal letters in a hearing of this kind, and also——

Senator WELKER. Whose personal letters?

Mr. HINTON. These seem to be personal letters.

Senator WELKER. Whose personal letters?

Mr. HINTON. This is a letter that says, "Dear Mother and Jean."

Senator WELKER. I ask you, whose personal letters? Do you deny that they are yours?

Mr. HINTON. I never denied that they were mine.

Senator WELKER. All right. Will you admit that they are your personal letters?

Mr. HINTON. I refuse to answer questions on that subject.

Senator WELKER. On the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you read a few lines from that last exhibit, please?

Mr. McMANUS. This is a letter, "Dear Mother and Jean":

NOVEMBER 22, 1948.

For the last month I have done no work at all, neither at the teaching or in the writing of my book, for Gen. Fu Tso Yi, in command of the KMT troops in North China, decided to raid our area. Since he has a lot of fast-moving cavalry and we had very few troops right here, it was not thought possible to stop him if he really was stupid enough to come on down.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Mr. Chairman, you claim that these came from my footlocker. Why don't you put the whole works in?

Senator WELKER. I——

Mr. HINTON. You claim that you are not afraid of the truth about China. Why don't you put all the letters in? Why don't you put all the writings in?

Also, if I remember rightly, in the locker that I brought back, there were 78 posters. These 78 posters covered the whole of the period that I was there, all aspects of life in China. In the exhibits that you put up yesterday and today, it seems that there are a few posters picked out which would show different, mostly political, aspects.

Now, if you say you are not worried about the truth about China, why not—there should be a whole lot of posters.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, I am very sorry that you are not——

Mr. HINTON. Why don't you lay out a whole lot of posters and let the press see everything that you claim you took from the locker?

Senator WELKER. I am sorry you are not a member of this committee. And as far as I am concerned——

Mr. HINTON. Also, as far as the photographs were concerned, there were three hundred and some photographs that I brought back——

Senator WELKER. I know there is no such thing as decency in your body. But will you be courteous enough to let the chairman interrupt you one moment.

Now, counselor, I have had about enough of this.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Now, you were so interested in the press seeing everything in your footlocker. That footlocker has been opened for 2 days, and they have the consent of this committee to look through it and to do everything they want to, and you and your counsel have that perfect right. You can do so at any time. But you are not going to delay and to stall the hearing, because it does not go the way you want it to go, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. You are making quite a circus with all these things——

Senator WELKER. Very well——

Mr. HINTON. Put up here. You pick this; you pick that, what you say came out of this locker, and, of course, you try to give an impression which suits you.

Senator WELKER. Well, now——

Mr. HINTON. Naturally, I think that the things I brought back, the things I brought back, they should all be on display.

Senator WELKER. You mentioned a circus we are trying to make and the impression we are trying to leave. Are you trying to leave the impression before this committee and the American people that you are not a Communist?

Mr. HINTON. I am trying to have a fair hearing as much as possible. as would, I think, be impossible with a committee of this kind. because of the record of this committee in the past and during these hearings. Everything is done to distort the picture.

Senator WELKER. Everything is done to distort the truth, you say?

Mr. HINTON. Everything is done to distort the whole picture; yes.

Senator WELKER. Now, then, maybe we can get right down to the grassroots level and get at the truth. Do you care to leave an impression with this committee that you are an American and not a Communist?

Mr. HINTON. I certainly care to leave the impression with the American people that I am an American; yes.

Senator WELKER. Now, how about the Communist part of it?

Mr. HINTON. As to questions about communism, I refused to answer before; I refuse to answer now, and that is the same——

Senator WELKER. Why did you refuse to answer that? You have now made quite a speech about the impression that you wanted to leave here, and the fairness, and we do not want a circus. Now will you tell us, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party or are you a member now?

Mr. HINTON. We are going through the same thing again and again, Mr. Chairman.

Senator WELKER. I know we are.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, as before.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify the next document?

Mr. McMANUS. This is a document which bears on the head the following: "Peifang Ta shwye." This is one of the documents which was taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker under my supervision.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go in the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WELKER. It is so ordered and made a part of the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 40" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 40

Peifang Ta shwye:

This university is spread out in several villages on a flat and fertile plain which is ringed on every side with mountains. This was evidently a former Catholic stronghold, for everywhere one sees the spire of Catholic churches and the huge brick halls of Catholic convents and monasteries. The school, or at least part of it is housed in former Catholic mission buildings complete with gothic church, and stone crosses on roof peaks, door posts, and gables. Never, in their wildest nightmares did the Catholic fathers dream, I think, that their spacious halls and gardens would one day become a center of Communist learning, where Chu Te and Mao Tse Tung smile down from the halls of the rectory and the kitchen boys wear red stars with crossed hammer and sickle on their caps. The bulletin board where once holy bulls were posted, is now jammed with the wall newspapers of the students, and on the brick walls of the compound are written huge characters which says "Drive to Nanjing, Capture Chang alive."

But the housing is not by any means the most unique thing about this university. Most striking of all right at this moment is the fact that all classes have been suspended for 6 weeks while all students, faculty, and staff study the new agrarian program, review their past lives, and reform their thinking and attitudes so as to be able really to serve the people and carry through this rock bottom land reform which has just been adopted by this Border Regions Government. This agrarian law is the most important thing that has happened in China for several thousand years. It is the biggest thing in Asia, perhaps in the world right now. Everything else has been laid aside while everyone studies what it means and examine himself in the light of the program and what part he must play in it. This self-examination is not confined to the university, but to every part of the Border Region. All cadres are taking time to do the same, all workers in factories, all farmers in the villages. All are preparing for this great clean sweep of the land problem. As for the students, they do this in groups. They meet sometimes 9 and 10 hours a day and discuss. Usually it works like this. One will get up and talk, will examine his past life, explain what he did and why, and how he regards things now. Then others will analyze this boy's life and actions, criticize, praise, or blame, and try to help him to see how he should have done differently, or can now do differently. This goes on for days and days. Why is all this necessary? Partly because many of these students are of gentry background, unconsciously they have many holdovers from the past, feudal ideas about family, land, classes, physical work, democracy and other aspects of life. With such ideas they cannot hope to be of use to the people or the revolution, for the revolution has left all such far behind. This new land law is the grave of the past and all those who wish to be of service to the future must rid themselves of

the encumbrances of the past, wipe the slate clean and approach problems in the same way that the poorest, most destitute peasants approach them. Concretely this means that these gentry sons and daughters must be willing to destroy the roots of their own privileges, even struggle against their own parents, and divide their own parents' land and wealth, without fear or favor. That is the supreme test today, and it is no easy thing for those who have unconsciously grown up protected by the security of land rents, safe in the knowledge that no matter how well or poorly they worked, no matter what happened to their health, they could always be taken care of by the family and those rents would continue to pour in, paying the bills, sending the children off to college, etc. Now all this must be renounced. The roots of this whole system are to be dug up. From now on their position in life depends on their own wits and skill, their own hard work and service to the people.

That is one side of it. Then there are the others, the poor peasant and worker students whose class viewpoint is already solid because they are of the oppressed. The discussions help them too, for even they may often have hangovers of fear, of inferiority, of superstition regarding the Li class, and they may not have a very clear picture of the relationships, and exploitation in society. They learn by discussion with the rest and help those of different background to better understand the problems of the people.

When the university is not discussing land reform, classes are held. But these are nothing like the classes held anywhere else in the world. Since I haven't been to any I don't know exactly how it is done, except that everyone says the classwork is group work, with the advanced helping the less advanced and everyone progressing faster for that very reason. But classwork itself is only part of the program. Practical work is the other part. The engineers go off to work in factories, put up blast furnaces, make explosives, the farmers go out to the fields and work with the peasants. The medical students work in the hospital. The economic students study land reform, Border Region finance, and get practical work in all these. In no branch of the university is learning separated from practice. For the purpose of the school is to train as rapidly as possible the much-needed workers who will immediately be called to important jobs, building, fighting, tending sick and wounded, teaching, improving agriculture, and the thousand and one urgent things that need doing all at once. For that reason no excess baggage is thrown in. The students have little time and only learn what they need to learn in order to be of use at this stage of development. There is no use teaching engineers about radar when what is needed is men who can smelt iron in homemade blast furnaces. It is no use to teach ag students how to repair tractors when what is needed is men who can design a better scythe, or organize the farmers to keep good corn strains pure. So textbooks are rewritten and a series of short courses given. In engineering, for instance, the first group studied iron smelting and coke making. The second class studied explosives, the third class is studying mechanical engineering, simple machinery, gears, worms, machining etc., while the third class will study whatever is considered most important at the time. This has not yet been decided. It may be civil engineering, railroad building, highway planning, etc. or it may be electrical engineering, whatever is regarded as most vital will be the concern of the next class. Language courses are given because of the need for interpreters and for diplomats in the future. English is one main course—a 2 year one, and Russian is another. There are twice as many students of Russian as there are of English.

Whatever the course, all students get their exercise by working on the land. The dean of the arts college announced proudly that his students had during the summer and fall grown and harvested over 2,500,000 local dollars worth of grain. That they did not look like students but rather more like farmers and that they could be seen any morning out on the roads with wicker basket which they had made themselves, picking up manure for next spring's crops. The dean of the medical college apologized for not looking more like a doctor. "I look really more like a cook or a soldier," he said. "But don't let that fool you, and don't think because we are often seen out on the road picking up manure that we know nothing about medicine. You'd be surprised when we get into our white aprons and white masks and pull on those rubber gloves, we do a good job of surgery, even if we don't have instruments made with precision machinery from some modern factory. Now when we need a knife we have to go to some local smith and have a few dozen pounded out, but they work quite well, for all that." Of course, he added that they didn't try to train MD's but

only to train men and women competent to deal with the most urgent diseases and problems, people who could go out now and work.

That is the way it is in every department. This is no cut and dried university. Certainly no ivory tower, but a place where people come to learn some skill or knowledge that their country and people are badly in need of, and the skill they learn is put to immediate use. Then as things advance, and what they know is inadequate to the times, they return here for further training, thus education and life are combined. This is all according to a theory of the president, Dr. Fan, an eminent Chinese historian, that education and life are in fact nothing but the same thing, and that knowledge and practical work must always be combined. In addition, he evidently believed that everyone should know what it is to raise his own food, though of course, beside from being desirable this is also a necessity, since the budget is very small and basic food rations must be provided by the students and faculty themselves, just as they are by all government workers.

Jan. 16th:

Visited the Medical College this afternoon. Dean Li, the doctor in charge is one of the most vigorous and life-loving men I have ever seen. He gave us a long picture story of his college. Ten years' history of Peita Medical College. Ten years' struggle. The people's achievements are always built from nothing and progress from small to bigger. Medical science college is no exception. This school organized from the doctors training corps and is now 10 years old, overcame many difficulties, finally we succeed and develop to the college it is today. 1938, Jan.—Japanese invaded China and the Central Armies gave up and retreated but the 8 route army took its place in the rear of the enemy and promoted guerrilla war. The medical department of the 129 division established a mobile training course to train doctors, nurses, and medical men. Skill was low then. More than 40 students, 2 teachers, one is Tien Shing Chung, the other is dean Liu Ho Yi. Most of the students of the mobile course came from the red army, formerly they were nurses. Their study could not be separated from the struggle. Not long after they established their school the enemy invaded S. E. Shansi by nine routes. All students and teachers joined the fight. Used the battlefield as their classroom. Studied medical surgery on the front. Picture shows students with large banner "Mobile Medical team 129 Army." Then comes a big gear wheel which seems to be the banner of this team. On it is written: we suffered many hardships, etc. Mobile Medical training today has worked three terms. Then in 1940 they got order to enlarge this team to be the 129th division medical school. Tien Shing Chung was president. Names of teachers and students follow. More than 90 students. 1941 January—this school joined with the medical training team of headquarters and formed the Battlefield Medical school. [Picture shows establishment of the school. Next picture shows the students cleaning guns, etc. Illustrates that they had arms for self-defense and were prepared to fight. During their off hours they practiced throwing grenades and rifle shooting (picture shows this).] Medical men also trained to be military men. When Japs moved up they planted mines on the roads. [Picture] While they studied they sent out scouts to watch enemy movements, thus their study was only rarely interrupted. 1942, spring season—two big teams protected the movement of the school. One of the class was killed on the way, during the anti-mopping-up period. Their work in the hospitals was good, they never worried about filth or bad smells. Patients cared for diligently. [Arrow says in the medical school there exists high revolutionary friendship.] The sixth team graduates were the best. One of the students named Mao Wen Shi practiced in the Bethune Hospital at the time of the Jap mopping-up; anxious to find some safe place to protect patients, he fell into a deep gully and was killed. This is highest form of revolutionary sacrifice. The students of the school carried the wounded to the mountains to avoid being caught. [Picture.] They also helped the patients move when the Japs mopped up. They never complained about this. [Picture.] To alleviate the burden of the people they usually carried their own food, grain and fuel. 1941—They had twice everyweek to do this, no one was excepted from this service. [Banner above says "save the people's force—" pictures of grain carrying and fuel gathering.] They carried coal five lis in order to earn money for a festival dinner. For 300 li and back every student carried 80 and every teacher 50 catties of—and by this method they earned money for buying salt, etc. They passed the famine period just like the people, ate wild grass, and tree leaves, and saved grains to relieve poor farmers. 1943—The medical

school has the spirit of struggle and suffered many hardships bravely. In order to alleviate the people's burden and also improve their life, all students and teachers cultivated on the mountains 400 mou of virgin land. Everybody had more than 4 mou. In the wintertime they look over the record and choose their labor hero. 1944—Big production carried on in this school. They gathered 2,500 catties of manure. Teacher Li Rhen Shen was the foremost in this work. They hoed the fields under the hot sun. Hoed all land at least twice. After that year's production their life was improved. [Arrow says "be frugal."] They patched their clothes when broken as well as their shoes. They learned to make shoes of wild grass to overcome the shortage of shoes when they were transporting grain, etc. They had discussion meetings in the moonlight to save oil. They saved every small piece of string and every scrap of cloth. They used white soil to make their own chalk. They went to big temples to collect old Buddhist books and used the blank surfaces for notebook paper. Although their life was very difficult, still they studied very hard. They helped each other and cooperative progress overcame the simple conceptions of medicine. [Pictures all through here.] Their life was very democratic. If they had any opinion, they wrote it and put it in the opinion box as well as speaking out at meetings. During the study movement in the Communist Party, the whole staff and students studied hard, organized their thoughts and found out the mistakes of the past, and resolutely reformed themselves. The students of the school participated in medical work in all the big battles. [Picture shows Jap flags pierced with arrows for each battle.] They trained nearly 1,000 medical workers in 6 years and distributed to all battlefields in Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu. After the Japanese surrender, the medical school became the Medical College of Peifang Tashywe. Many students came from far places outside the liberated areas, partly due to President Fan's influence. In order to establish the buildings of the school, the students carried more than 100,000+ bricks. They erected telephone poles (121) from the school to the powerplant. They also participated in reconstruction work of other kinds, such as painting walls and making furniture. 1946—during wheat harvest time all the people in the school mobilized to help poor peasants harvest wheat. Medical college was no exception. The medical college has a cook-helping system. Every Sunday they cook in his place, and let the cook rest. They also kept records and did trade, transportation, in order to earn money to improve their life. When Chiang invaded lib. area, students of the college mobilized to help the soldiers and worked at the front. Organized a medical team. They went to the battlefield at the front and carried wounded soldiers to the rear for cure. One of the students named Sung Gro Chyang was killed in this work. At the front they also gave Yanko dances of 40 to 50 persons.

At the school they worked hard but they also played hard. They had Yanko dances with more than 50 persons at a time. They organized ball teams for basketball, etc., and competed from time to time. They sing very often and have many singing teams. This is a mass movement of the students. Students study chemistry diligently. [Shows a boy writing formulas on the floor.] They utilize all spare time to study, even during their rest time they find reference books to read and write out their notes. Also they study how to improve their study methods. They combined study methods through efforts of students and teachers. When this school moved from Hsingtai to Taihang, all the students carried their baggage and walked more than 400 li Jan. 1947—many graduated students went to the front and to many hospitals in the rear. They established a bacteriology lab, anatomy lab, and a hospital under very difficult conditions, in order that the students might study and practice.

Now this the medical is still far far away from our ideal, but we hope and we thoroughly believe that we can overcome all difficulties and establish a modern scientific medical college. (End of history of the school.)

The school itself now is located in two small villages not far from the central village of the university. Its buildings, like those of the latter, were once a Catholic mission. The church, which is as close a copy of an Italian country church as possible, with faked marble columns, arched nave, and cheap stained glass, is used as a classroom. On one side of the altar is a red banner saying Chinese Communist Party Wan Swei (live a thousand years), on the other Drive to Nanking, and where the altar used to be is a blackboard. The wall newspapers of the students take up a part of a wall, and the church bell calls the students to class. This medical school has 500 students, but almost no equipment—six microscopes, a few slides, some homemade test tubes, a home-

made sterilizer, and an incubator which keeps warm by an alcohol lamp. For disinfectant the doctors are experimenting with a solution of egg white and salt water which the Russians have reported successful. But with this meager equipment they are (?) disease cultures, studying them, and learning the fundamentals of medicine. In one little mud hut, far away from the rest they have their anatomy room. Knives, forceps, and all are made by the local blacksmith. They have no formaldehyde with which to pickle corpses so they have to do their dissecting in winter time. Even at that the bodies sometimes kick up quite a stink; that is why the building is so far from the post. The doctor said the local people do not mind their cutting up corpses. It is only a few of the older people who have religious qualms about it, but the people, in general, have long since outgrown such scruples and understand quite well what is being done and what for.

When we came out of the anatomy lab, we came upon a hundred or more students and teachers all doing a Yanko dance just for the fun of it. The dean of the school is a great one for dances, drama, and singing. He often takes part in acting himself and on the big festival days he usually leads off the Yanko himself. He says the school is just like one great happy family and it certainly appears to be so. He is perfect as a father, plump, cheerful, full of the love of life and enthusiasm for the future, which is such a part of everything here.

In the evening we had a discussion meeting with all the students in the English Department. Some of them were not very advanced, 1 to 2 months only, so the talk could not be very complicated. Anyway we had a lot of fun with a little knot of students gathered around each foreigner, and questions shooting back and forth. Miss Fan, who teaches English conversation, told me at one point about the self-examination that is going on now, an examination by group discussion. She said as an example that she herself used to always expect people to wait on her and do everything for her, and that this was an obvious landlord hangover, since she was the daughter of a LL. She said also she liked to boss other people, which was another indication. It was this sort of thought that they branded as LL thought and were trying to clear up now. I said, "You couldn't really have been that bad could you?" and she said, "Well, not always, but much too much." She evidently felt that was no way to serve the people. The students asked over and over again about Wallace, about American policy, and about the coming elections. I was sorry not to give them more optimistic news.

Then next day we came on here to the agriculture college. On the road we passed what looked like a division of troops on the march. Their weapons looked good, modern rifles, machineguns, mountain guns, a few small cannon. They had many horses and mules and carried their cooking pots with them. Unfortunately we went by so fast we could not really get a good look at them. There is something about an army on the march that always stirs me, perhaps because I have never taken part in any such thing. This city is the most modern I have seen for a long time. It has some paved streets, electric lights, and running water. At night the streets are all lit up. The theater is brandnew, comfortably warm, for a change, and the stage is lit up too, by electric lights.

The Ag school is run by a former professor of botany, and his wife, who also studied botany. Their background influences the whole school. They spend much of their time collecting and identifying plants. Now, this would seem to be a very impractical pursuit at a time like this, but in reality this is an extremely important activity. They are after plants of medicinal value and seem to know their business. The idea to find drugs which will be useful for veterinary practice. A great deal of emphasis is being put on training vets and setting up vet stations. Since they have very few foreign drugs, they must depend almost entirely on what they can find in the mountains. Thus botanical collection turns out to be of major importance. In their vet work they have also drawn heavily on old Chinese practices which use herbs and needles. Modern veterinarians, with all their knowledge, are helpless here because none of the drugs and equipment which they know are required are available. Thus though they can diagnose very well, they cannot cure. The old style Chinese vet may not know exactly what it is he is treating, but at least he has a remedy, and often it works. Hence they combine the two and make progress in spite of backward conditions. Animals though they appear numerous here are really very scarce in terms of need and have a high value. The average donkey or mule costs \$400,000 local money (U. S. \$135). The vet stations now operating have treated 4,000 animals in the past year. Assuming that they saved the lives of every one, they saved the farmers of this region 16 billion. The center of the veterinary work at the college

here is a little mudwalled room fitted up like an old-fashioned Chinese apothecary shop, with hundreds of small drawers full of drugs made from plants. These drugs were collected last summer by faculty and students on a long trip into the mountains. They brought back with them several thousand pounds of useful plants and roots.

The other big enterprise here is making sugar from beets. They have developed a process for doing this by hand methods. It is very laborious but it works, and when it is expanded will save millions for the Border Region which has now to import most of its sugar from outside. Sugar beets grow well all over this area and produce sugar abundantly. In fact we are told that in the Taihang Mountain Region sugar beets have a much higher sugar content than they do in lower altitudes and other climates. From 1 mou, 2 to 3 tons of beets are harvested, and 400 pounds of sugar made.

This 400 pounds of sugar has far more value than the millet or corn or any other crop that might be grown on the land. Here the beets are first sliced up, and then boiled four or five times to remove all the sweet in them. This sugar solution is then boiled down in a series of kettles. When the right consistency is reached, the heavy molasses is set in a warm chamber in small bowls, where the sugar crystallizes overnight. The next day this sugar is put in a centrifuge and whirled around at a terrific speed propelled by the muscles of four students in turn. The crystalline sugar is caught in a fine copper screen, while the noncrystalline sugar pours on through. This boiling down, crystallizing and centrifuging process is done four times for each batch in order to get out all the sugar. The old centrifuge, a relic from the Japanese occupation, has to be whirled for a half an hour or more just for four pounds of sugar on the screen, and this must be scraped off by hand. But the students take this all in their stride. I guess they have never thought or realized how much labor this really is. What matters to them is that they are making sugar, pioneering in a new field with something their country and people need a great deal. In the process they are learning a great deal. Each of the boys in this class may well go out and set up a sugar plant of his own. In 3 years' time they expect the Border Region to be self-sufficient. The students work until far after dark by the light of small oil lamps, and Mrs. Lvo is right there supervising it, finding an empty bowl for the sugar pouring from the centrifuge, sending for another boy to help the three on the crank, taking care to see that everything is going right. What else they do in this agricultural school [several words illegible] enough in themselves, if nothing else were taught or done. This could hardly be called an Ag college by American specialists, but there is no question that it is doing more for farmers of this region than all the highpowered missionary experts and fancy KMT Ag schools ever did.

In the evening we went to the (?) and a very fine show it was. First came a short play about a farm family. Then two young daughters were spending time learning to read, but their father got angry with them for this foolish waste of time and scolded them severely. But he spoke too soon, for that very day a letter was brought to him from (?) while classes are held in the rooms and halls where once the good fathers drank their wine and said their prayers. I guess all the dead popes of Christendom have turned over three or four times in their graves at the sight of their holy grounds providing shelter for the study of land reform and the overthrow of feudalism. But then, who cares about dead popes. The bell in the church tower now summons revolutionary students to classes. Boys and girls with hammers and sickles on their hats pass under the stone crosses over the doorways, and in the rectory where the priests once took their sumptuous meals Marx and Lenin look down on discussions of the best way to mobilize the poor peasants so that the lands, among them lands once belonging to this very convent, can be fairly distributed among all the people.

The life of both students and faculty is rigorous. In this society people who do mental work have a lower standard than workers. Everything is strictly calculated in terms of millet and the millet allowance per person is only about 26 ounces a day. Not that we got only millet, but millet is the standard, and if we got wheat or meat, it is figured in terms of millet and the total can't be more than the standard. When I think of Putney's meals and the great organization and staff necessary to prepare and serve them, I have to smile. Here we of the faculty run (not walk, for the food would be half gone if we walked) to a bare room that must once have been the convent's grain storage bin. On the table (there is one table for every eight of us, but no chairs at all) are bowls and chopsticks, though many bring their own. On the floor is a wooden pan heaped with yellow millet

and a bowl of the water that the millet was cooked in. In addition there are a few bowls of cabbage, or chopped carrots, with perhaps a bit of bean curd mixed in. Everyone grabs his bowl, fills it to the brim and shovels the food into his mouth as fast as he can trying all the while to get a bit of the vegetables in along with the millet, before they are all gone. In the corner is a pile of corn and over against the back wall is a pile of wheat. We also exist on steamed bread and corn cakes made from these reserves. Often during meals a rat will come poking along hoping to get a bite of the grain. Then the faculty all drop their bowls, grab whatever is handy and go after the rat. There is such a wild scramble that the rat often gets away. But not always. The other day we got one cornered in an old iron stove (needless to say this stove never has a fire in it even when it gets to 20 below which it has this winter). We smoked him out of there and he dashed for the door. A new man, a writer just in from Peiping stepped in front of him but the rat disappeared. He thought at first it ran up his leg but we shook his pants all around and nothing was visible so, very disappointed we went back to our food. Some one remarked, "It's a fine thing when six men can't catch one rat" (the group was small that day) when all of the sudden the Peiping professor let out a whoop and clutched his rear. The rat was at the top of his pants just under his belt and we had to take his pants off to catch him. He did not get away that time.

The kitchen is manned by one man, and stocked with a few great iron kettles. The man wipes out everything with a dirty old rag, cleans off the table with it and rubs up the chopsticks nicely ready for the next meal. In the kitchen the rats are very active but, the cook never even takes notice. He is 44 but has no wife and sleeps right there next to the stove. He says he is too poor to have a wife. "But have you no land?" I asked. "My home is not yet liberated," he said. "But soon it will be and then I will get land and a wife." It is things like that that make the revolution real to these people. Another boy, a helper at a different kitchen told me the same thing and said, "If we just string along with Mao Tse Tung, I'll be able to marry yet." In China there are many more men than women because girl babies are often drowned. That means that many men never have a chance to get married and of course it is the poor ones who lose out. It is simply a question of economics. No land, no wife. Of course some hired laborers were able to marry, but many millions were not, for wives had to be bought and many never got enough money to buy cheap as girls often were, especially in famine years. The rich landlords used to buy young girls in hard times for four or five dollars apiece. Keep them as slaves around the house until they were of marriageable age and then sell them at a handsome price to some poor merchant in search of a wife. Feudalism certainly is wonderful.

The students have an even simpler mess than we do. There are no tables and each one brings his own bowl and chopsticks. They have the same huge steaming pile of millet and have the same rush to get it down before it is all gone. Faculty members each have a room apiece, or at least a room per family, but the students live together eight or ten to a room. Each has a quilt or two, a towel and maybe some soap, one suit of padded clothes and a pair of shoes. They sleep on the old kang (brick beds) of the (remainder of article missing).

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I read into the record at this time page 1755 of the preceding examination of Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. This was handed to me. What is it handed to me for? I am not given time to read it.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. [Gaveling.]

Now, counsel, I am asking you as an old friend of mine, since we have worked together several times here, and you have been a very kind and courteous counselor. Will you kindly advise your witness to obey ordinary rules of decency when it comes to interruptions. We will be glad to recognize him. But when counsel is in the middle of a statement such as he is, please do not have him interrupt. Will you do that for me?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, Senator. I do not think he should interrupt. However, his question, I believe, was a valid one.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The young lady handed him a paper. He wants to know what the purpose of that was. Is he to read it or not?

Senator WELKER. Very well. The exhibits have been identified by Mr. McManus and they were identified by letter yesterday from the Department of Customs, and so we will not bother you any longer. We are trying to be courteous and let you see what is going into the record.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think what Mr. Hinton would like to know is, if he is to have an opportunity to read it, then he wants to read it.

Senator WELKER. I understand that.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. And if not, then I do not think there is much purpose served by handing the letters to him as if he were identifying them, since he has not done so.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, the reason we were doing that was that if something appears to him as not to have been a document belonging to him, and if he can indicate so by looking at the document or perusing it, he is being given the opportunity to do so. But as you noticed before when we gave him a document, he inserted that unless he read every word in the document, legally he was in no position to say whether or not it was his.

Now, that is an unplausible position.

Mr. HINTON. Unplausible?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That may be so, Judge Morris. But this document, as you can see, is about 2,500 words of not quite legible carbon type-writing, single spaced, with, I think, some interlineations, and he has no way of being able to form any judgment about it unless he has an opportunity to read it. Whether that means, peruse it leisurely, as you say, is another question. But he has no opportunity to do anything with it, even to read a half dozen words.

Senator WELKER. Now, counsel, I appreciate your position, and I think you are representing your counsel very ably when you say that he should have the time to read it. Now, during the next recess or any subsequent recess or in the evening or any time, you may read these documents fully and completely, and then I hope he will be ready for cross-examination on all of them.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I would suggest only, Senator, that it does not serve much purpose even to hand them to him under these conditions.

Senator WELKER. I believe you are right. But we want to be courteous to you. Since you do not desire to see them, we will put them in the record as we have planned.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to suggest again that the whole——

Senator WELKER. I do not want to argue with you on this matter, and I do not desire to hear anything further from you.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). That the whole document go in, and not bits and pieces. This was a courtesy afforded to Senator McCarthy. I think, and I believe I am entitled to the same as he is.

Senator WELKER. You say that we are not putting all the exhibits in the record?

Mr. HINTON. I understand that you are reading little excerpts here and there, pulling sentences out and reading them into the record. My suggestion is that it would only be fair to put the whole of the documents into the record or none of them.

Senator WELKER. The whole document is going into the record, Mr. Hinton. I am sorry you are not paying attention. I have ordered every document to be printed in full in the record.

Now, if you pay a little attention, I am sure we will get along much better.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify the next four documents, each individual or single one?

Mr. McMANUS. No. 12 (for identification) is a document headed, "Notes on Struggle meeting with Jye Shr Hsien—February 1, 1948." That is a document which was taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker under my supervision.

Mr. MORRIS. May it go into the record, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WELKER. It is so ordered. The whole of the document will go in and be made a part of the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 41" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 41

NOTES ON STRUGGLE MEETING WITH JYE SHR HSIEN—FEBRUARY 1, 1948

As we at the ag school lived more than thirty li from the scene of the meeting, we got up before dawn in the bitter cold, ate a little millet, were given two large cold steamed breads apiece for our noon meal, and then set out just as the sun reddened the eastern ridges. The whole student body went along, so that our column was more than a hundred strong. We walked rapidly through the snow across the flat plain, passed mud villages still asleep, and then over the hill to the university. We arrived just in time, for the meeting was about to begin. It was held in the enormous Catholic church here. The crowd this Sunday would have delighted any priest's heart for the church was packed from end to end and from side to side, and if people could have shinnied up the imitation marble pillars of the nave they surely would have. But these people were not here to listen to a priest. The stained-glass windows and numerous crosses peered down on as ardent an assemblage of revolutionaries as you are likely to find anywhere, and they had come to reckon with one of their number who had betrayed the revolution. In that huge gathering of over one thousand were men and women from all over China, peasants, workers, landlords and merchant's sons, old hands in the liberated area and newly arrived students with the breath of Peiping still hanging in their nostrils. They were here to examine a former landlord turned comrade and to learn a great political lesson, a class lesson, a lesson about landlord thought and landlord actions.

The purpose was explained to me by one of the teachers at the college. This meeting is a mass meeting to struggle against a party member whose thought is typical of the landlord thought in the party and the college. It is not only for his education but also for the education of the whole student body, the faculty, and the masses. This man is a party member but will be judged not only by the party but by the people. This man was a large landlord in Wuan. He formerly was head of the department of education of Peita and later became a teacher in the culture college. As a member of the landlord class how did he become a member of the Party? His case has been in the papers twice. Everyone has a right to speak, hear, and express their thought. We want to beat his thought, not his body. This party problem has been brought to the masses not only as an education but also because in party meetings and in small group discussions this man refused criticism. Hence we have brought it out in the open.

Now the Dean of the College of Education and Culture is speaking: Jye Shr Hsien, of Wuan Hsien is 34 years old, is a party member and is now working at Peita. His father was a tyrannical landlord with more than 500 mou, 200 rented and 300 cultivated with hired labor. He owned many houses—almost half the village, more than two hundred rooms of his own house with a huge garden. This place was on the scale of the Peita campus. He also had widespread business connections in Kaifeng and Photing. His relatives, among them one uncle named "Black Coal Ball," had between them 2,000–3,000 mou altogether. Some ran a heroin business. Jye's father and mother both smoked opium and along with the other relatives were cruel to the people. His mother was especially bad. She loaned money at high interest rates and was cruel to

the servants beat them and used her hot opium needle to burn their hands. Sometimes this Jye himself beat the servants, now says this was for their education. He also killed two person and injured another not sure ((?) was he or his father). The servants wages were very low, they got but five hundred small coins a year. Several were bought for a song from local farmers during hard times. Laborers got but 440 a year. One of the best men asked for two dollars more but was refused. Some laborers wanted to borrow money for funeral expenses of their parent; were refused. Ate millet, salt vegetables only. Never anything fresh. Many lived together in one small room with the animals. Jye was prohibited from playing with workers' children. There is a story—once he found a sleeping laborer and leaked into his mouth. The family lived comfortably, burned incense, ate Jawdz every day. His father never ate carbohydrates because he had trouble with his kidneys. The son owned over 60 blankets, and 200 suits of good clothes, had special horses to ride. When the family went out they used sedan chairs. Kept many dogs to drive off beggars. That is this man's family background.

He was educated to be proud, to despise poor men. When at school he was authoritarian; wanted to be a boss. Was nicknamed "King of the Flies." His education had from the beginning. All these habits and attitudes acquired while young. When 17 he studied in Paoting Middle School. Wanted to be a leader of the student movement but when there was real trouble he always backed down. 1931 joined the Social Union, a progressive organization. Said he joined the Communist Youth at that time but there is no proof of this. Transferred to Peiping Middle School, a school under CC domination. There he joined a study association, wanted to lead it. But when police arrested some members he was frightened and confused. Decided to be Peiping University Prof. Then went off to Japan to study and did some revolutionary work but when the oppression became heavy he abandoned the revolution. Others arrested but not he. In 1937 came back to China, worked in Canton and Kaifeng, but had no success at business. Then came back to Wuan, joined his Uncle, a CC clique member. During war this man organized a local army to protect their homes, a local detachment. Uncle commanded; Jye was staff officer. This group became 4th brigade of puppet army. Jye was surely involved in this. Befriended Wuan's chief traitor, named Li. Hye wanted to join his army to that of KMT general Sun Tien Ying but Sun refused them, so he went back and joined the puppets. There met 8th Route Army. They persuaded him to join them. He wanted to be in charge of political education. Was not given any such post so went off in a huff for his sisters' home. But the Communists talked with him more and he said he wanted to go to Yenan so he went off with ten others, all of who later betrayed. He wanted to be a teacher in Anti-Jap university but was given only small instructor's post. Then he joined the party. He had a good reputation in 1938-39 as he came with the army to Taihang, his attitude was ambitious, wanted advancement. Started struggle meetings in some organizations to show zeal and good thought. Mixed everything up, muddled the waters, and got promoted. After Jap surrender he wanted to go to big cities but was sent instead to party school. Wanted to be Hsien magistrate at Wuan but the local party would only back him for the PPC rep. He also wanted to head Wuan Party Committee. Refused PPC job, was introduced to the university which asked him to be research student. He refused, pulled wires and finally got appointed head of education. When they marched from Hsintai here he spread word among the students opposing the move and counted on support from those not used to hardships from the big cities, as the hardships were very great on the march. University asked him to go to medical science college, but he wanted to be a teacher. In August 1947 workers and staffs started thought meetings. He was never anxious to criticize himself, but was very good at "beating others thought." At this time he was class teacher and influenced students thoughts badly. Two girl students could not suffer the hardships, but he planned a struggle meeting against them. He wanted to be the modern LiDz Chen, in fact called himself such and said he was a national hero. In 1945 he went home four times and entertained his landlord friends with expensive feasts and banquets. During the second reeducation period the peasants struggled against him. He didn't like it at all. Threatened to expose the village head as a traitor and protected his sisters as well. When he came back he rode a horse very rapidly through the towns and always packed a gun. His attitude toward the staff is bad. His body guard often used a gun to threaten the villagers and the peasants. During the struggle he sold his best land (30 mou) and gave

away some of the poorest land to the farmers. But he brought back with him all his good things, gold, blankets, good clothes, and hid them all away. Also brought with him a girl servant who had been bought by his family for \$1. Sold some of his things, bought guns, used university money for private business. Spent \$100,000 a year. When the newspaper declared his guilt, he said this newspaper is Kirikun. My father is a progressive landlord and understands Marxist theory. Actually his father is connected with Japs and KMT. When others suggested he should think of his defects he said, "My defects don't amount to much."

In the small group he despised other members. Said he was 20 years a revolutionary and that his family was rich and glorious. Never would answer questions. Said he was a traitor to his class, and a loyal CP member. Finally he wanted to make a big confession in order to cover over the small things, so he said he was a traitor to the party. Could not get anywhere with him, so we decided to have a meeting of the whole university. We should study this man's mistakes and hope Comrade Jye will also study them.

Then Jye himself spoke. He is a short, fairly heavy set man with a very weak yet arrogant face, wears glasses and a student's hat. Is obviously pleased to be on the platform and the object of so much attention. He makes what he considers a damning confession:

"I thought the landlords' exploitation reasonable, after all the land was theirs. So I thought my family progressive. I asked the peasants to reserve good land for me. The party took good care of me, even offered to make me Wuan PPC rep. but I refused. My father was sometimes not just. He beat the laborers with a barbed rod, this I have not told before. I joined the party not as a revolutionary but to advance my personal position. I agree with the Dean about the most important of my defects. I joined the party three times, once when I was very young. I thought the CP would be successful so I joined, also felt this to be glorious. I knew nothing about it. When my father heard I was a CP member, he said, 'Even though he is a member he will never do anything to harm the landlord class (several words illegible) I joined after 3 months. The man who introduced me did not really know me. In the party I wanted a high position and wanted to carry out my personal ideas. I never discussed things with the whole group. I formed a clique which obeyed me. Those who obeyed me I helped. I wanted to make the party my private organization. I recognize my attitude toward the land reform was incorrect. Many persons asked me to think of my personal defects but I refused. I said, 'Land is the property of my family—it does not belong to the peasants.' But since yesterday when they told me I would be brought before the big meeting, I realized how serious were my mistakes. Since previously I had criticized the president, my first thought was, 'Now he is getting back at me.' I treated my boy as private property. I was afraid the peasants might struggle against my sister. I now have a better idea of the land reform and wish to be expelled from the party for my mistakes."

The crowd takes this speech with evident displeasure. It is really no confession at all but just a display of vanity at bay. The girl, slave girl of the family, is introduced amidst excitement and general applause. She gets up before that huge crowd and speaks. Her dialect is so broad most of the people cannot understand her; I was a beggar in (?). Was bought by this man's family for one dollar when very young. His sister used to cut my hand with a small knife. She beat me to the floor. She used hot irons from the fire to burn my skin. Gave me only millet hulls to eat. [Weeps. Repeats about the millet hulls many times.]

Because no one can understand her very well another girl takes the floor and explains her story:

"At five her father and mother came to Wuan as beggars. She does not know exactly what she was sold for, but often the LL cursed and said she cost him but \$1. When six she was assigned to daughter number 4 who began to smoke opium at the age of twelve. This girl very cruel. Had three slave girls. Poked the eldest one with hot opium needle and used sharp knife to cut her hands and flesh. This 4th daughter died of eating too much honey. She was the worst. Made this girl lie on a very hot needle and beat her. When she called, if the slave did not come at once she would beat her. Beat one of them to death. The eldest sister and husband also smoked opium. This girl went to serve them next. They also tortured her with hot irons. Once she broke a lamp and was beaten with a very heavy rod. When it was cold and snowing outdoors, they made her undress and lie in the snow. She became so stiff she could not get up. After a year of this she went to serve an aunt who also beat her with

irons used for pressing clothes. The 3d sister also beat her. After Wuan was liberated they suddenly replaced the millet hulls with the same food they ate, for they feared she might struggle against them. The village staff said she was to go to school but the LL refused. There was a struggle and her hair was pulled out, she was beaten and put in a cold room. When she came here Jye warned her not to talk with others. But she told them the places where the family wealth was hidden in the grain storage room. There is an under ground tunnel. There the (?) are. In the east room there is a hollow Kang which has opium store in it."

(During this talk and commotion over the girl, Jye sat without batting an eye with that same self-conscious, superior, suggestion of a grin on his face. Now the Chairman takes the floor (not comrade: note).)

We hope this fellow will think over all these things. His speech is far from satisfactory. He did not for instance tell us where his families' wealth is hidden. He himself knows where they are. If he really repents why did he not tell us. When the newspapers established the fact that he threatened the peasants with a gun, he denied this fact. His attitude remains far from good. He talks only principles, has nothing concrete to offer. We hope all will study his thought. There will be a short recess, and then anyone can talk. We hope this meeting will be well organized. If you have something to say, ask the Chairman for the floor.

(Follows a 10-minute break. Everybody stands up, revealing that they are sitting on bricks on the floor, they stretch, talk, walk outside. Then the meeting is resumed.)

Just now he said his land and buildings were not as big as this campus. Why does he deny this well-known fact? His personal detachment was formed at Kaifeng in 1936. He was a member of the Returned Students Anti-Jap Association. He had a big business in Kaifang at the time. His armed company had 50 rifles, 2 machine guns. This he joined with other LL forces including his uncles. Latter was old KMT militarist trained by (?) clique. Together they had more than 2,000 guns. The aim of this organization was to protect their land called a self-defense army. After Sth route army came there was a big propaganda campaign. Wun Fu San went to Communists and said he had long wanted to join the revolution, told false stories. But the first thing he did was put the propaganda team in prison (they evidently came first). The Sth route had difficulty getting there to liberate them. Then this private army tried to make contact with Sun but he didn't want them, so they joined with the Sth route again, but before that there was a period when they were Jap puppets. They had a quarrel with another puppet army and killed some of them, then tried to contact both ways, could not contact Balu so went to KMT. Uncle wanted join Balu, Jye wanted to join KMT, finally they joined with the former but he was forced into it. Then of course he immediately wanted a high position, as political commissar. They didn't agree, so he wanted to go home. Then the party asked him to go to Yen-an. His father had contact with the Japs and was adviser to the puppet government. He himself at one time had a private telephone line to the Japs.

A student speaks: "He has always used two covers: (1) That he was in the army; (2) that he is an old party member. Actually he was nothing but a traitor all along. His army served as Japanese puppets but he denies this. After he joined the Balu they wanted to go south, but he was afraid of danger, didn't want to go. His purpose in joining CP was to use the power of the party to protect his land and property and to serve the LL class," from inside the party. He usually says, "I am an old revolutionary. But this is to get honor from others." He said, "I was formerly a proletarian but now I am suddenly become a landlord. I don't see why my class suddenly changed!" During Peiping days when he was a student leader he retreated when police arrested some. He is typical of the LL class in the party. He has wants to use his reputation as an old revolutionary to gain power in the party and protect his family.

Another student: He always opposed the leadership whatever he was doing. (Lists those he opposed ending with President Fan.) As he admits, he opposed Fan and Dean Chang; formed a small clique to which he loaned money. Bribed people with blankets. He created bad feeling among the staff members. Said one thing to one, another thing to another. Said President Fan made 90 percent mistakes, he himself but 1 percent. Created bad feelings between one department and another. Tried to get other colleges to oppose the president. His attitude has never had a spirit of self-criticism. When he spoke his attitude was very bad. He only asked everybody's pardon.

Professor: This meeting, as the chairman said, is an education meeting to educate the LL's in the party, but this fellow does not want to be educated. When he spoke, he spoke only in general; had no concrete mistakes. The place of his family treasure he never mentioned. His father is in Faifeng. He criticizes him, but does not come across with an action about the wealth, etc. All his antiparty activities and antileader activities he has never mentioned at all. All the people whose relations you destroyed you have never mentioned. In the small group he was hostile to others. Never examines his thought. Yesterday he said to me, "You say my spirit is not good, well, it's not good, so what?" Doesn't want to reform his thought. I know something now about your mistakes. Evidently you want only to liquidate the party.

Student: He must be kicked out of the party and the university. Four times he went home to oppose land reform. Used the opportunity of attending party school to return home and oppose land reform. Used old LL's attitude towards laborers. His thought never got down off horseback. At home he used one hundred dollars to entertain LL's and took back a load from his father amounting to \$40,000. About land reform he said the policy is a mistake, land could be given out, but money, clothes, etc., should not be. This distribution of personal wealth he thought due to poor training of village staff and peasants. Someone asked him, "Have you any guns?" He said, "No." But actually he has. He resolutely opposed the revolution. He asked the party to make him magistrate of Wuan, and also head of Wuan CP committee, but they offered him only PPC rep. He failed. Second time he went home he sold 17 mou of land and animals amounting to \$40,000. Third time he brought all valuable things back with him. Went to his sisters and also hid sisters' things. Party asked him to return to Peita but he wanted to go to Peiping Ex. Headquarters. Fourth time he went home he found his family had been struggled against. He went to the Chu to ask why they treated him so badly. Should make an exception for him. He met a poor peasant who was a party member and got struggle fruits. "You're rich now. You squeezed my gold watch. If you don't bring it back, I'll report you as a spy." Thus he got back a gold ring, gold watch.

Miss Ling, faculty secretary: His activities against the university are numerous. He opposed the leadership and the policy of the party. (1) He opposed President Fan. He thought the president should obey him. When he first joined the party, it was with this threat, "If you don't permit me to join the party, I'll join the KMT." Evident that his thought is LL. He relieved landlords and then said, "But they are all women and children." Last year there was a meeting to synthetize thought. He said the president has 95 percent of the mistakes. Myself but 5 percent. Fan is not qualified to be president. (2) He created bad blood between faculty members and college. To this college he said, "Fan doesn't like you, he likes the others better." Then the others asked what is your thought. He never tells any facts but he certainly displays his thought thoroughly. He said to some old comrades, "Why are you not in charge, the party must doubt you." Said to Wang, Chang is bad; to Chang, Wang is bad." Said, "I'll loan you money. I'll find you a wife." He said, "now Peita has the wrong leadership. Only bad ideas found currency." Said to the girls he wanted to kiss, "Oh, in the Eighth Route Army we're all very rough, just like this." He doesn't believe Peita can be any good even in 10 years. (3) His work here. When he studied in the small group everyone was thinking of their past mistakes, but he said their mistakes were nothing. In the meeting he said problems cannot be solved, only investigated. He said some of the new students were very proud, must be struggled within small groups, and if need be in mass meeting. He regards leadership as dictatorship. President said we cannot close the door against revolutionaries joining the party; we cannot establish small cliques. This man says, "We have no such things, why should they be mentioned?" He wanted the president to excuse him from going through this examination, thought it was the president's personal spite. Was his speech good? All: "No it was no good!"

A student: When he protected his sisters he said, "You must find a method to get our father back. His cousin beat the slave girls and put them in prison. He never did anything about it."

Another student: He tried in every way to protect the landlords. He said to one newly married teacher, "this land policy is many times worse than ever before." Most of the village staff are former hired farmers of his father's, but he despises these people and treats them as a LL. "You were fed by our family! This land reform movement is a rascal movement because the poor

farmers are all rascals." He is a filial son of LL's. When he is fifty, he hopes to be on the Central Committee. He wants LL's to occupy leading positions in CP. He wanted a high position in the Balu and threatened to go to KMT if he didn't get it. When he worked in Taiyueh he wanted a higher position and wanted the whole organization reorganized so he could have it. We must learn from his activities what his thought is. When he was in Paoting he heard the police had arrested some. He was afraid and loaded all his things into a rickshaw and ran to the railroad station.

Chairman: Remind group to talk facts, not principles, but without much affect. (About this time various group leaders stood up from time to time and shouted slogans which were answered by the crowd. Since the break he has been standing—the object of struggle—as some one sent a note up saying he should not be allowed to sit down.)

Student: The members of my small group are dissatisfied with his speech. At the beginning of this meeting he was afraid we would send him to the people's court. His mind when he speaks is very bad; he smiled and was obviously glad to talk. We must reform his attitude. During his work here he praised people under Fan but criticized President. Told dean Lwo you are very good, but Fan is no good. Said similar things to all local people. "President despises you, despises local people. Gives them low positions but gives outside educated people high positions." Said to old staff, "Old staff members are despised." Said to some, "Others get special food, why not you?" Was dishonorable with girl students; tried to use his position get somewhere with them. He talked down the party so much to one girl that she quit the party. He should not be kicked out of the party, but should be sent to Wuan so that the people there may judge him. He gave a road pass to his sister to leave here. Where did he get it?

A stuttering student: He always tried to make friends with superiors, but despised those under him. Students never could get a satisfactory explanation of the things wrong with his thought. He led his class sometimes very loosely, sometimes very strictly. He said he would introduce students to the party youth if they would follow him. His attitude toward new party members very bad.

A girl from his class: He took no responsibility for classwork. He does not know anything concrete about the situation in the class. He asks to talk with students very little. He talked with newly arrived students, but didn't explain about hardships. Said we must suffer hardships, but always liked to enjoy himself. The students worked hard in the field, but he stood by with tools and did nothing.

Another student: When he returned from home he said he had contributed all his families' land to the peasants. But this could not have been so since the peasants are asking to struggle with him. This indicates he wants to avoid struggle and stand with the LL's and beat students spiritually.

Another: His speech not a synthesis of his thought. He called the President "the old man, Law Twedz." His spirit is such that he doesn't want to correct his mistakes. He has not yet discovered how to study the land law. He wants, as a landlord in the party, to destroy the party. Says, "Old members not wanted, but intellectuals newly arrived get high positions." In class he said, "Many old members and cadres are not satisfied and were kicked out by members newly arrived in the army." Once a student from KMT wanted to go back there. They held a meeting when he left. Jye said, the students' attitudes are poor, but this fellow is leaving has the right attitude. "I will follow him." He taught sociology class. The students said there was no need for him to lecture in the classroom. He said, "I cannot create a new sociology, so I will follow the books."

Another: Old comrades should stand on the proletarian line. Our revolution is to abolish feudalism, but we must abolish feudal thought first. Must not threaten the people.

Another (shouting): His thought is bad. All: "Yes" More slogans, ending with "The masses see clearly his mistakes."

Another: He returned to the village and demanded that the village cadres return his things. Hence he obviously opposes land reform. He looks on peasants as rascals. I talked with him when he was in the guerrillas; at that time he wanted to join the KMT army. When new teachers came he showed them a book of students' names, pointed out which were girls and might be approached.

Another: Repeats same story. He oppresses village cadres, opposes land reform. Kick him out of the party.

Another: Actually he is a landlord and his attitude is the same. This is thoroughly understood by you [points at him]. Why should you disguise this? This man cannot improve at all. Should be sent to the people's court for punishment.

Another: He protects his landlord property. He keeps guns and shells. His father in Kaifeng provides for him a connection with KMT. Wants to destroy the revolution under the guise of a revolutionary. Declared the paper which criticized him to be kifikun. He wanted to be Hsien Jang, etc., etc. Reviews all the same crimes.

Someone shouts he should take off his spectacles. He takes them off. Now stands a little bleary eyed. Obviously can't see well without glasses. All this time he has been looking gloomier and gloomier. He has pulled out a small notebook and has been writing down what they say against him. He is taking it all seriously for the first time. Evidently he felt that in the beginning there would be some, his gang, who would stick up for him, but as student after student gets up to denounce him, he obviously is becoming shaken.

A teacher of the Medical College: Describes his conversations with him. He talked with me about the defects of others. At that time I did not understand the situation so did not criticize his thought. But now I realize his purpose was to create bad relations between me and President Fan. He said something about Fan to me and covered up the mistakes in his own work. He originated many rumors about the president. He is antipopular; looks on the revolution as a rascal movement, reviews all the crimes.

Another student: He says there is no need to contact the masses. Our work may be improved without the masses. This is not a fit standard for Communists. He made students' relations bad; went to student reps and said that small group heads bad, and vice versa. He used small girls in the college as servants.

(About this time the cold is really beginning to penetrate the church. Many people are coughing, stamping their feet, and clapping their hands together to keep warm, but the meeting continues hour after hour. There is a break for supper and then it goes on again.)

A student: He used CP as if it were the KMT. He opposed Mao's thought. He is very lazy. Pregnant women work hard in the fields but he only leans on the shovel and watches.

A shyaw Gtwey of the college: Once he wanted to put his blankets in the sun. Called me to get some ropes. I got them, but he would not let me return them. I was dismissed for not bringing back the ropes. He did not permit the servant girl to eat anything.

Another student: He is a counterrevolutionary cadre who wants to destroy the revolution.

Another: All the persons in the university have tried to help you to improve your mistakes, but you have refused all help. Formerly, you say, you were a proletarian but now it is obvious you are a landlord. You stole bicycle from the school and stole them. You boast that you alone can lead the school well, and that the leadership alone is bad. You should be dismissed.

Another: He organized a group to oppose the party. LL activities are exhibited by this person's activities such as we never imagined. If a person is of LL class and wants to improve he must expose all bad actions of LL. Some students of the LL class were given social conveniences when in his classes.

Another: His grandfather, and his father (for 200 years) have been landlords. A long tradition. His father was a tyrannical landlord of Wuan who used political power to oppress the P+HP. His mother is just like the LL's wife in Bay Mao Nywu. When she smoked opium she used the hot opium needle to prick the slave girls. He himself is tyrannical. He took much of his families' gold, but when he got here he said it was all lost. Others asked him the story but he never told. Said his father-in-law had only a half cattie of gold. We don't believe that he lost the gold. He is a new big stone on the people's necks, He must be removed.

Another: When the college was in Hsintai he wanted a copper basin to wash in, although no one had such good basins. He bought a pair of glasses using college money. He borrowed public money, invested it in co-ops and took the interest himself. He tried to make capital out of acquaintance with Po yi Po and Chen Geng. This is but to use the CP as if it were the KMT.

Another (a girl): He has always opposed land reform. He wants to be a hero. He only wants to apologize to the slave girl and not do anything to compensate.

Another: How can he have the thought of P+HP when he despises them and defends the attitudes of his father and mother. His relation to his father is a

landlord and feudal relation. He wants to make the CP a landlord party. He wants Peita to become LL in thought. Wants to change the whole thing over. Even though given the chance to reform he would not give up his landlord ways.

Another: When I listened to his speech I could see immediately that this was a LL speaking. Also his movement against President Fan. This makes him typical. He apologized to the slave girl, admitted party attitude, asked to be expelled, kicked out from the party. All this is not to improve his thought but only to settle this struggle. He does not show the proper spirit at all. This fellow is really a fascist. Last year they had a cadre meeting; he used this meeting to spread his thought. At this meeting he insulted the president over an incident concerning cod liver oil which was sent to Fan by the government. He used Peita road passes to send his sister to Shermen at a time when that city had not been liberated. Often criticized others without any real proof. He went around eavesdropping and picked up bits of conversation, then went around spreading rumors. He must trust the KMT otherwise he would not have sent his sister out.

At this time the shouting goes on almost every few minutes. "He is not CP; he is KMT. Dismiss him." "Oppose landlord thought." "Down with this man Jye." "Support the land reform." Everyone shouts with raised fist. Jye raises his fist too, automatically, as the others shout. This is very weird. It must either take a lot of brass or he is so distracted he does not know what he is doing.

Another student: When he first came to Peita he called on all the Wuan people to come and see him and thus tried to form a clique on the basis of locality. He always asked the girls if they were married or not. His intentions were not honorable.

Dean of Medical College: He says his father was very good to others but never says who these others were. Not only did he have land but he had political power. He wants to be kicked out of the party but still preserve all these things and his property which is hidden. I once was living in a village where he had a landlord relative who was being struggled against. He wrote and asked me to help the fellow. (Much more, but along in here my interpreter got tired and quite stubborn.) (More slogans. The crowd is beginning to get quite impatient and upset, especially toward the north end of the church where the Ag students are. Most of them are P+H) and they are obviously more tired than the rest. It is after dark by now; the meeting has gone on 10 hours. A kerosene lamp is hung overhead, but it keeps flickering low, and in the middle of speeches they have to find someone to climb up and fix it several times. It is bitterly cold in the church.

Dean of Financial and Economic College: Takes out the land law and goes over it point by point showing where Jye has opposed each point specifically. (Jye by this time looks like a ghost of himself. He is very tired of standing up. His face twitches and he tries to wipe his nose with the back of his hand. Still peers at his notebook and tries to write down what is being said. When the shouting is on, raises his arm mechanically.)

Everybody shouts, "Expel him from the party; expel him from the university. Send him to the people's court for justice."

More and more speeches follow. People get more aroused. Someone yells "Take off your hat." He does, but a little later puts it back on again. The chairman reaches round and tells him to take it off again. He does and holds it in his hands, twisting it this way and that. Someone shouts, "If we cannot beat him, at least the slave girl can; let her beat him." Hundreds roar in agreement. They are hungry for action now. Finally the boys from the Ag college make a rush for the platform intending to seize and beat him. The chairman and several faculty members rush to oppose them. There is a tense moment. The P+H from the Ag college retire, muttering to themselves.

Finally President Fan gives a long speech. Talks a long time on beating and opposes it. Says we cannot fight feudalism with feudalism. We must reform thought, not beat bodies. Describes three ways to destroy the party: (1) Bore from within; (2) stir up factions; (3) smash. This man has done all three. Are there others of the same kind among us? Yes there are. They must reform, and not end up like this man. Ten years in the party and look at the results. (The result is indeed pitiful, standing bleary eyed, all arrogance gone, peering out in the dark crowd with spectacle-marked eyes. When the students rushed him, he shrank back in terror, but was relieved when he saw the faculty in control.) A small amount of landlord thought can grow, will grow until it encompasses the whole mind.

Others make summaries. The meeting finally breaks up. It is after 11 and we have still to walk home the 36 Li. We stagger home in the darkness, a long line of weary people. It is so late there is not even anyone on the road checking

passes. Finally the moon comes up and lights the way. We stop at a small roadside restaurant in a mud hut. Eat some mantou cold and drink a little hot water. We are so tired we can hardly move on, but finally stagger home after 3 in the morning. A 20-mile walk and more than 12 hours of meeting.

The next morning the whole affair is discussed. The Ag students are still muttering. They think the authorities wrong in preventing them from beating the bastard.

Mr. MORRIS. Identify the next document.

Mr. McMANUS. This is a document under the heading, "Recruiting in Communist China," and the first sentence says:

While working for UNRRA in the Communist area of China, I lived for a time in a small village in the middle of the North China plain.

This is a document which was taken from Mr. Hinton's footlocker under my supervision.

Senator WELKER. That will be admitted in the record and made a part of the record, the whole of the document.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 42" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 42

RECRUITING IN COMMUNIST CHINA

While working for UNRRA in the Communist areas of China, I lived for a time in a small village in the middle of the North China plain. One day in an open square I came upon several men beating a huge drum while two young boys clashed cymbals together. Soon a crowd gathered. Women with small babies in their arms came out of doorways. Old men coming in from the fields with hoes on their shoulders stopped to listen. A large group of schoolchildren arrived, lined up, and began to sing.

This, it turned out, was a send-off party for a young farmer who had just volunteered for the army. After an hour of continuous noise he at last appeared mounted on a white horse, a large flower on his chest, and a bright band of cloth around his body. The singing children fell in ahead of him, the drummers rallied behind, while the people hastened along on every side. In this way they escorted the smiling recruit to the next village, where he found a similar welcome.

Thus I first became aware that the Peoples' Liberation Army—the army led by the Chinese Communists—is in fact an army of volunteers. I soon learned that this young man was but one out of several hundred thousand that joined the army this year. As the Liberation troops pushed across the Yellow River and drove to the banks of the Yangtze, there to threaten Chiang Kai-shek's main bases, the peasants of North China joined up in increasing numbers. In the Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu Border Region, which contains 30 of the 200 million people in the Communist areas, more than a third of a million men volunteered in 1947. In the month of November alone 160,000 men joined the forces from this one region, while almost as many were turned away. One young man who was rejected for a slight physical defect said ruefully, "In the old days we avoided the army. Now we all want to go, but it is very hard to get in these days."

What is the secret of this mass recruiting? What makes these poor peasants not only willing but anxious to go to the front and face the American guns, the American planes, and the American tanks in the hands of Chiang's forces?

Fundamentally it is the land reform that has brought this about. For the first time in thousands of years, the common people of North China have land. There is not much for each family—perhaps only an acre or two—but each has enough for basic needs and each is at last secure. This land was won by hard fighting, first against the Japanese, then against Chiang and the landlord forces who forced civil war on the nation. The people are in no mood to lose now what they have so dearly bought.

The determination to defend newly won land is basic, but there are additional reasons which also impel an individual to leave home and wife and risk his life at the front. The army into which the recruit goes is a new army where the common soldier is treated with respect, is taught to read and write and think, is promoted on the basis of merit, and is carefully looked after when wounded. The village which the soldier leaves is a new village where the poorest peasants are in

control and where they are organized to help one another. The soldier's family is not left to shift for itself or go begging at the door of relatives. It is honored in the community and cared for by an organized team of neighbors. When the fighting is done at last and the soldier returns home he can look forward to a life of expanding opportunity and well-being.

All of these things are as much a part of the revolution as the land reform itself. A new life is being created here in which the Chinese peasant who formerly could be "enlisted" only by tying a rope around his neck, finds it perfectly natural to take up arms in defense of his home, his land, and his fellow peasants.

The actual recruiting procedure is unique. The war is the concern of the whole community and the whole community takes care that the army does not lack men. Once headquarters decides how many men are needed, quotas are assigned to every county and every village. Mass meetings are then called and the issues at stake on the front are made clear to everyone. "Remember the Past—Compare With the Present" is a key slogan. The new farmers—those who have received land for the first time in their lives—review their past sufferings, their oppression at the hands of landlords and rich farmers, their struggle against these oppressors and their final victory over them.

At these mass meetings the great victories of the southern offensive are discussed. Who won them? The peasants on the front. How can Chiang be finally destroyed? By more peasants on the front. The terrible conditions which still exist behind the lines in Kuomintang China are also reviewed. The slogan "Support the Great Counter-Offensive—Liberate Our Brothers in the South" moves many.

For these people Chiang Kai-shek has become the very symbol of everything that is backward, corrupt, and rotten. He is the core of feudal degradation in old China. Chiang is called the "The Old Root of Disaster" that must be dug out. "Advance to Nanking and Capture Chiang Kai-shek Alive" is the battlecry of the whole area.

As these and similar slogans are raised and discussed at village meetings, many young men volunteer on the spot. In one small village of southern Shansi province, after a discussion of current events, the land distribution and past sufferings, 41 men volunteered. In a nearby village the head of the Women's Association persuaded her husband to enlist. Inspired by these examples 685 men of the subdistrict joined up in the next 3 days.

The women—who have gained perhaps more than any other group by the revolution—are especially active in recruiting. One young Hopei wife who took the new equality seriously demanded of her husband that she be allowed to work in the fields along with the men. He was reluctant at first, fearing that something might happen to her. When he finally yielded she proved to be such a good worker that he was delighted. "This relieves my mind of a great burden," he said. "Why, if anything should happen to me, if I should get sick or die, you could carry on the farm like any man!" "That's just what I have been thinking," said she. "I see no reason why you should not join the army." And join he did.

That this is not an isolated instance is illustrated by a meeting at Yincheng in south Shansi. There 13 wives promised to mobilize their husbands and 65 girls promised to persuade their brothers to enlist. But the women did not carry off all the honors. Twenty fathers promised to send their sons, 18 grandfathers agreed to mobilize their grandsons, while 11 uncles guaranteed that their nephews would enlist.

Thus the whole community takes responsibility for recruiting.

It is frankly admitted that these meetings do not always go well. In some villages the distribution of land and wealth has not been thoroughly carried out. The poor and hired peasants have not organized to take the lead in village life. In such communities recruiting may be slow.

In other villages government workers neglect the education campaign and expect the people to join up without any clarification of the issues. According to one report those responsible for recruiting in one town simply told the young men, "It's fine in the Liberation Army. You eat wheat every day and have three sets of clothes." But the young men replied, "If it's so fine, why don't you go yourself?" In the end nine were appointed to go, but when they got to the county seat they were sent home. The army has no use for those who are unwilling.

Often, if the leaders do a poor job, the people themselves come to the rescue. In Lichang, south Hopei, after half a day of meeting, no one spoke a word. The women became perturbed and said, "You look after the kids. We'll go and fight. When the land was divided you men spoke fine words, but look at you

now. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves!" After that 14 volunteered at once.

Village and county officials who neglect proper methods, bypass education and end up ordering people to go in order to fill their quotas are severely criticized in the press. Coercive recruiting is not tolerated.

Lest community pressure itself prove too strong, the "four wishes" campaign has been launched in some areas. Father, mother, wife, and above all the young man himself must all agree before he joins the army. Furthermore, should a man's family pack him off against his better judgment, even so it is likely that his lack of enthusiasm would be noticed at the new soldiers' meeting or at the county recruiting center, and he would be sent back.

Recruiting failures, though prominent in the press which aspires to eliminate them, are not widespread. In most areas the land reform has been thoroughly carried out, the issues of the war are well understood by the people, and the problem, far from being one of a lack of volunteers, is actually one of surplus. The army cannot handle, nor the community spare, all the men who want to go. Methods of selecting only the best men have been worked out. Not everyone who wants to join the army is accepted by any means.

In Hukuan County in southern Shansi, only 1,466 men were approved out of 2,191 who wanted to go. In Siyang County in the same province, out of 2,000 who volunteered, only 1,191 were finally accepted. In Licheng County, South Hopei, the selection was even more drastic. There only 300 were taken out of 2,483 recruits.

The requirements for a recruit are simple but exacting. He must be over 18, under 35, healthy, and willing. In addition, his class origin and class consciousness is examined. The Liberation army is a class army—that is it is made up almost entirely of former landless hired laborers, poor peasants who never had enough land, and so-called middle farmers—men who have just managed to scratch a bare living from small holdings. Such men make up the majority of the Chinese people. The revolution is their revolution. In the villages they are now in charge of everything including recruiting and they are becoming increasingly particular about who fights for them.

During the anti-Japanese war a number of landlords and rich farmers' sons joined the people's forces. But the character of the war in China has undergone a drastic change since then. This civil war is a class war—a war of the landed gentry and rich compradores against the rising landless and dispossessed. In the villages of the Communist-led areas, a bitter struggle has been waged against landlords and rich farmers who formerly took advantage of their poorer neighbors and often tortured and killed those who protested.

Now, all those who have been struggled against—which means anyone whose property has been distributed—along with those who followed their lead, served as their agents, and carried out their orders are rejected as fighters by the people. It may seem strange that such men should volunteer at all. But since the people have won control many young gentry are anxious to gain popular favor and avoid the stigma which is now attached to their class by joining the army. In addition there are some who sincerely believed in the new cause. But the people do not trust them. When the going is tough they too easily waver. Peasants, on the other hand, particularly the poor and hired, cannot and will not turn back.

Ex-landlords, rich farmers and their hangers-on are but a small minority of the population. Volunteers from their group make up but a small proportion of the total. Rejections for reasons other than class are more important as far as numbers go.

Not only must the young man and his family be willing. Not only must the village accept him as a soldier but the village must also agree that his labor can be spared. The people have undertaken to care for soldiers' families. If the soldier is an only son or the only man in the family, the burden of carrying on for him is heavy. A man with brothers or a vigorous father, or uncles that farm together with him, is more readily accepted as a volunteer.

To keep at home enough men to till the land is of prime importance. Not only the village people but the county and regional authorities pay special attention to this problem. In the fall recruiting drive, the villages of Chin-Chi-Lu-Yu sent 300,000 men to the army, all of whom were qualified in every way. 140,000 were sent back to insure that production would be maintained.

The final result of this rigid selection is an army of the most advanced, the most fit, and the most eager young men in North China. They form some of the finest fighting troops the world has ever seen.

The people fully appreciate the quality of their army and treat the soldiers accordingly. How they sent off one recruit has already been described. When several go at once, the occasion is even more festive. The village is gaily decked with banners, streamers, and posters. The new soldiers are showered with gifts and are wine and dined all day, while music and dancing goes on in the streets.

So eager are the people to give their sons and husbands a fine sendoff that they sometimes spend with wanton prodigality. In one west Shansi village, 70 feast tables were set for 60 recruits and 114 bushels of wheat were consumed in 1 day. Another village spent \$1,900,000 on five meetings. This amounted to 80 percent of the value of their year's taxes. Still another village fired off 200 clips of precious bullets when the volunteers left town, while nearby 100 stone mines were exploded to celebrate the occasion.

The government has found it necessary to warn the people against excessive spending. Said the paper, "The extravagance in some villages is surprising. Such haphazard ways of spending money must stop!"

When at least the recruit marches off, a poster goes up on his doorpost. At the entrance to one home, I read:

To Comrade Wang Tien-Yu
Glorious are those who volunteer
To dig out the already rotten root
of Chiang Kai-shek.
March southward when the north wind blows.
Fight for the masses,
Make landreform nationwide.
Most glorious are the volunteers.

Once the young men are gone, aid to their families must be organized. Water must be hauled for old mother Wang. Land must be tilled for the wife of Li. Comrade Yang's crops must be harvested. A committee for aid to soldiers' families is elected. Men or women from each section of the village are chosen. Each takes charge of the care of soldiers' families nearby. Specific tasks are assigned to various neighbors, and it is the duty of the committee to see that these are carried out. "Care For Soldiers' Families Comes First. Do Your Own Work Later" is the motto. Should the work be late or sloppy, the family may complain to the committee and something must be done about it.

As a rule it is the men of the mutual aid groups that look after soldiers' families belonging to their team. All the village families are members of one or another of these groups, whose function it is to organize labor exchange and increase production through group work. In the past the soldier worked together with the members of his team. Now they simply add the work of his fields to that of their own. Should they fail to harvest on his land as good a crop as they obtain on their own land of similar quality, they must make up the difference out of their own bins.

How this system works when well organized is illustrated by the following letter written by a young wife to her husband at the front.

"Since you joined up the people of our village come often to visit us. Hauling water and other work is all properly looked after. The three Lis have all volunteered to do some work for us. I suppose what worries you most is my pregnancy and you are afraid there will be no one here to care for me. But it is already arranged that besides mother, the wife of Hung Jung, a member of the women's association committee is to live here with me. And if we haven't enough millet this year the village will supply us with red millet and will buy other necessities. So don't be downhearted or worry about home."

In the South Hopei village of Gan Ji Jeng, preferential treatment for soldiers' families did not go well at first. One farmer admitted that he had not plowed well for the family under his care. Another said, "When I hauled water for soldiers' families I was never on time." After discussion and inspection, the system was reorganized and from then on things went so well that many families said, "Our work is done better and faster now than it was when the men were at home!"

Honor and aid to the soldier continues when he returns home as a veteran. Many have already been mustered out and have received some of the best land, the best houses, and the best animals available at the time of redistribution. There are plans for future aid to disabled fighters—plans which will enable them to become useful citizens. But that is another story.

The main point to be emphasized here is this: That the Chinese revolution, by creating a wholly new society, has also completely changed the role of the soldier

in China from that of a despised vagabond to that of an honored fighter for the people. The soldier is one of the people; he fights their battle, and he is rewarded by them in every way they know. Thus it is not hard to understand why the young men of the Liberated Areas volunteer in such large numbers that many have to be turned away. It is not hard to understand why they so willingly go out to face the American planes, the American guns, and the American tanks in the hands of Chiang's forces.

"Drive to Nanking. Capture Chiang Kai-shek alive" is no idle slogan. There are several million men in the Communist-led areas of North China who are determined to do just that.

Mr. McMANUS. The next is a document dated Peiping, May 20, no year, addressed to "Dear Jean."

Senator WELKER. It will be admitted into the record and made a part thereof.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 43" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 43

PEIPING, May 20.

DEAR JEAN: I guess you didn't think you would ever get an answer from me, but here it is. Are you surprised? The world situation certainly looks bad. The above was written yesterday. Just as I started I heard the singing of a student demonstration and so of course could not continue. Spent the afternoon on the street instead. But before I describe the demonstration, I want to say that the world situation doesn't look so bad after all. Last night we heard that Chang-chun has fallen to the Communists. It seems that the Nationalist new First Army folded up without much of a fight. This is the best army the Nationalists have, trained and equipped by Americans. It fought in Burma against the Japanese and was transported to Manchuria by air and the American Navy. This collapse really has the Nationalists scared. The military situation is critical. Everywhere the losses are tremendous. In Shantung half a million troops are getting nowhere. In Sensi, Yen-an is about to fall back into Communist hands and Sian, main government base to the south, is in danger. Taiyuan in Shansi is surrounded. The Government is in a panic. People are saying that the Kuomintang will sue for peace to avoid complete collapse, but it may be too late already. The days of coalition government are past. The Reds are more apt to fight on until the Government is really whipped. What this means for the world situation is incalculable. To me it means there will be no third world war. The situation in Asia is developing too fast for America. China is lost. There is nothing America can do to halt the Kuomintang disintegration now. We put in over 6 billion but it was like throwing it into the sea. It seems obvious that State Department men decided some time ago that it was a lost cause. They have abandoned Chiang to his fate not because they wanted to but because they had no other choice. The peasants of China were too much for Chiang even with everything America could throw in. We have retreated to Japan in hope of a comeback eventually but it isn't in the cards and I think in their hearts our men know it. The people of Japan are awake now too. There is little possibility that we can ever mobilize them for another Asian adventure. Even if we can it will be a different proposition this time. So China is lost. And without China war with Russia is impossible. It just can't be done. In my opinion there will be no war and I feel better than I have in a long time.

As for the students, it was very interesting. They marched in defiance of a National ban on demonstrations, and the warnings of local authorities that any march would be prevented by force if necessary. The students came out in such strength that the Peiping authorities backed down. Their bluff was called. With National power crumbling they couldn't afford an open attack on the students. So the demonstrators marched 4,000 strong and met with no opposition. Police were conspicuous by their absence, and soldiers were confined for the most part to their barracks. On a few casual uniformed men were seen in the streets, and they were unarmed.

The parade was very well organized. These young people really have the techniques of a demonstration down to a fine point. First there come the massed columns of marchers holding banners aloft, singing defiant and revolutionary songs, and shouting slogans in unison. They are not grim. The mood is not violent, but hopeful, friendly, and passionately demanding a better world. On both

sides of the marchers the propagandists go to work. Most numerous are the boys and girls with chalk. They write slogans on everything, the pavement, the sidewalks, the walls (Peiping has more miles of walls than any city in the world), the arches, the gates, the doors, the store windows, the awnings, and on all moving things—cars, streetcars, trucks and even rickshaws. Everywhere the slogans go up. It is as if a flock of birds descended and made tracks everywhere and were joined by an army of writing ants. "The People Want Peace"; "The People Want To Live"; "Stop Civil War"; "Chinese Must Love Chinese"; "No More Hunger"—these and many others are written everywhere that a few characters can be drawn. After the chalkmen come the paint pot men and girls. They paint the same slogans with larger strokes and with paint that won't wash off. Some use a few strokes to draw a picture of starving men, or the dove of peace, or empty rice bowls. Following the painters and competing with them in energy and determination are the tar pot group. They carry pots of liquid tar and with their bare hands dip twisted cloth into the tar and rub slogans onto the walls. One group of five girls were especially diligent at this and they were splashed with sticky tar from head to foot. They were so intent on their work they didn't even have time to laugh at one another. Between all these folk come the pasters. They paste posters and paper slogans on everything in sight. Some of the larger ones are very effective cartoons. People go in for harsh cartooning here, somewhat in the style of the Russian anti-Hitler work. Reactionaries are fat cruel monsters crushing skin-and-bone people under their heel or reclining on the backs of starving farmers, while bombs explode in the background.

The posters, the black tar wielders, the paintpot people, and the chalkers are only a part of the effort, for there are leaflet distributors and newspaper sellers as well, and then, most effective of all, come the speakers. They stop and talk to anyone who will listen. Over here is a young man addressing a group of rickshaw men. Over there a girl talks fast and earnestly to the occupants of a streetcar that is stalled in the traffic. They make a fine audience, for they are jammed together unable to move. They have to listen. As the speakers finished, there is clapping and cheering from the crowd. A young student speaking broken English comes up to me. "Sir, we are students demonstrating against the civil war. The government must stop this war. The people are starving. Chinese kill Chinese. We hope your country will not send any more arms and will help us build democracy. Please write all your friends and tell them what we say." A few minutes later another comes and says the same thing in a different way. They are not angry with me for being an American. They only plead for understanding and support.

The response of the people of Peiping to all this is disappointing to the students. They would like to see thousands join the parade and a real mass demonstration grow out of it. Nothing like this occurs, but the people are friendly. Many drivers stop their cars long enough for the slogans to be chalked on and the posters pasted up. Many shopkeepers look approvingly on as the slogans in tar are brushed onto their awning mats. There seems to be an understanding between the people and the students even though the people are too passive to suit the young marchers. There is friendliness in the air. Everyone buys the papers, even soldiers, and officers, and American-trained flyers. There is no mistaking where the sympathies of the public lie.

When the march is over, the whole route is littered with leaflets, posters, and slogans in red paint, black tar, and white chalk. It is hard to believe that a few hundred students could cover so much area in so short a time. But even more remarkable is the scene next day. Every single slogan has disappeared. All the chalk has been rubbed off, the posters torn down, the painting painted over, and the tar smudged out with black. Householders are held responsible for what appears on their walls, while the police work all night to cover up the writing on public property. In far corners of the city an old man is seen rubbing a red wall with a broom, rubbing out the chalk marks. Beside him stands a policeman holding a gun. Thus does the Government reestablish law and order, and rub from sight the truth that has burst forth in a sudden blazing effort. Life goes on then as before, to all appearances, but ideas cannot be wiped out with a broom, or smeared over with black paint, and it is probable that behind the walls in a good many homes the thoughts take root and grow.

Well, that's the student demonstration. Would that American students would produce something like it. When and if they ever mobilize they could learn a good many tips from their Chinese cousins. I never saw so many techniques used all at once to get an idea across. Of course in America there are no cities

with nice walls like these Peiping ones, and property owners would be incensed at paint and chalk on their windows and doors, but still something of the same kind could be done.

That's all for now. It's almost quitting time. Give my best to everyone and tell them all what these Chinese students are thinking. Things are looking better than they have for a long time. I think the human race will yet pull through.

Love,

BILLY.

Mr. McMANUS. Next is a document—it is difficult to classify some of these, Mr. Chairman, because they were scattered all through the trunk—but the first four sentences are as follows:

Lin—Dean of 1st division. On cadre training—

the word apparently should be “training”—it is misspelled “training”—in Hwa Da.

Why do students come and what do they think. Based on classes we have had before, we can classify students' purposes in coming here (1) For sake of showing—

and that word is misspelled—

objection to American imperialism and Chiang's control. A protest against KMT conditions.

(2) Discover CP power increasing, believe CP may win in future.

(3) Want to study revolutionary theories and gain skill for future revolutionary work.

Senator WELKER. That will be admitted into the record and made a part thereof, the whole of the document.

The document referred to was marked “Exhibit No. 44” and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 44

Lin—Dean of 1st division. On cadre training in Hwa Da:

Why do students come and what do they think?

Based on classes we have had before, we can classify students' purposes in coming here:

1. For sake of showing objection to American imperialism and Chiang's control. A protest against KMT conditions.

2. Discover CP power increasing, believe CP may win in future.

3. Want to study revolutionary theories and gain skill for future revolutionary work.

4. In KMT areas couldn't continue studies because of financial conditions; i. e., Middle school graduates who can't afford college there.

5. Want to study some special technique for future employment. But have no pull with anyone who can help them in KMT area. Here simply tell their ability and desire.

6. Consider Liberated Areas as new country, as going abroad. When whole China liberated they will be return students.

7. Come simply to meet authorities, such as Ay Ching of the Third Division, famous poet, or Ding Ling, Ay Sz Chi, and to study under them because they admire them.

8. In Chiang's area couldn't get free marriage, come here hoping to find new wife or following someone they love. Man and girl want to get married, but family doesn't allow. Then they decide to come here.

9. Come to have a look. Inspection trip.

10. Want to find the real truth (most of these are Christians. Know Christians always hunt truth. Have idea the CP fights for truth. Come to learn. Christian truth and CP truth similar they think!)

11. No definite ideas, go on from day to day, suddenly meet someone who persuades them. Better go, find a good job, a good school. No definite purpose.

First three reasons cover majority of the students. Usually those who come have not one purpose only. Usually have four or five reasons combined. No. 3 usually have some Marxist ideas; a foundation of Mao ideas but rather vague.

Very recently most were compelled to come to LA because their names were on blacklist. Had to escape to avoid arrest. From class 11, beginning from August–September all who came during this period, majority came to escape. Class 11, 12, 13, 14. These were the more advanced and active members of democratic movement in Chiang's areas. In Kalgan Period students who came had nothing to do with politics. Knew very little about American imperialism, or about Chiang. Both Chiang and American imperialism hadn't exposed themselves enough. Hence still had some illusions about glorious America, in civilization and industry, and Chiang so huge and important. Didn't see real nature of either American imperialism or Chiang. During the 3 years they gradually discovered what imperialism and Chiang control means, hence gave up past illusions and shift their hope to CP. Thought America prosperous; friendly to China. Chiang fought Japan 8 years, but after Chiang and Americans came they began to lose freedom, suffered hunger, poverty, inflation. They were educated by Americans and Chiang, through that education they discovered the real fact. Now have no illusions about getting something from America or Chiang.

That is why the students who come now are easily changed in their thought, while in the past we had to do something more to prove to them that America and Chiang were enemies. Now we need not tell them what imperialism is, or what Chinese fascism is. They know themselves.

About here, they think purpose is O. K.; they accept this immediately, but mostly they don't agree with us, to make everything change so slowly and steadily. Work here is tedious; tackle one problem at a time; patience. They think all is controlled by CP; if we want something just order people; don't explain in detail; have no practical training. Don't understand democratic concentration (centralized democracy). They understand democracy to be self-determination. Anything I personally don't agree with shouldn't be done. If it is done that means you don't obey democracy. Believe in absolute freedom; extreme democracy. Whatever they want to do they want to do, and if limited, say no democracy here. Chien said if I am a lower rank worker, I want more democracy. If I'm a high rank officer, then I want more centralism. That kind of idea is wrong. Should be just the opposite.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, will you look at the lower photograph in the right-hand corner of that bulletin board on the right?

Does that picture recall an episode to you?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the scene that is depicted in that picture?

Mr. HINTON. I would have to look at the words again to make sure what it is.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you do that, Mr. Hinton, please? There are two of them, are there not; duplicates?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I dismount them and hold them in front of him?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; certainly.

Mr. HINTON. What I want to check is this word "Kai Hsueh." I didn't remember whether it was—"Kai" means to open—I wanted to check on whether it was the opening or the graduation of a tractor training class that it referred to in these letters here. These letters, I am quite sure, say, "The state farming training opening ceremony."

Your question was, Does this remind me of or recall some incident or some occasion?

Senator WELKER. "Episode," I think he used.

Mr. HINTON. Episode.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion of the picture there?

Mr. HINTON. Evidently the occasion was the opening of the training class of the State farm bureau.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were making an address there?

Mr. HINTON. At the opening of each training class, as a teacher in the training school for tractor drivers and technicians, I usually said a few words about the courses that were to come and the importance of tractor maintenance and similar things.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who are the gentlemen sitting on the platform with you?

Mr. HINTON. I don't recognize them.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recognize them? Is your testimony that you do not know who they are?

Mr. HINTON. The picture is not clear here.

Mr. MORRIS. What are the flags that appear in the background?

Mr. HINTON. Well, those flags look to me like the four-star flag of the People's Republic of China. There is another flag on the right there that isn't very clear. It looks like a hammer-and-sickle flag, or some such thing.

Senator WELKER. A what?

Mr. MORRIS. A hammer and sickle.

Senator WELKER. That is the flag of the——

Mr. HINTON. I don't know whether it does or not. But there is something there, sort of a circle there.

Mr. MORRIS. And the picture in the background?

Mr. HINTON. That looks like a picture of Mao Tze-tung.

Mr. MORRIS. Are those two photographs, photographs which you brought into the United States in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and the fourth and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, will you look at the other photographs that we have on that board? Let us take the upper lefthand corner first.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The poster, you mean?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; that is right.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, I think he directed you to the other one.

Mr. MORRIS. On the left. I am sorry.

Mr. HINTON. If these were put up front where we can see them——

Mr. MORRIS. The Library of Congress translation reads:

Celebrate the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Do you recognize that photograph? I am sorry. It is not a photograph, Mr. Chairman. That is a poster.

Mr. HINTON. What was the question?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recognize it?

Mr. HINTON. Do I recognize it? Recognize it as what?

Mr. MORRIS. As a poster that you brought into the United States in your footlocker.

Mr. HINTON. That would be very hard to say. I did bring 78 posters of all sorts, sort of a record of the period when I was there, the various posters that they got out.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recognize that as one of them?

Mr. HINTON. To recall whether or not that was one of them would be difficult.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, you say you brought back 78 posters.

MR. HINTON. I mean, approximately 78, because I wouldn't want to stick to the number.

SENATOR WELKER. The number was approximately 78; would that be fair?

MR. HINTON. Yes.

SENATOR WELKER. Would you mind telling the committee what you intended to do with those posters?

MR. HINTON. Well, they were a sort of historical collection. From the beginning when I was there, when there were posters on sale—you understand, these were what in China are called New Year pictures. They are on sale everywhere in every village. Peasants buy them. People buy them and put them in houses and on their doors, and so on. And from year to year, I used to buy, oh, 10 or 15 of the New Year pictures on each year as sort of a record of that year's production of posters. I thought they were quite interesting.

SENATOR WELKER. And what did you intend to do with them when you brought them back to the United States?

MR. HINTON. Well, I didn't have any specific intention. I thought it was a rather historical collection. It would certainly be very valuable some time. It certainly was a record of historical—

SENATOR WELKER. You mean just from the history standpoint?

MR. HINTON. That is right.

SENATOR WELKER. Did you intend to use them in the lectures that you have given throughout the United States, some 300 or more?

MR. HINTON. If I had had the posters which I brought back, I think I would have exhibited some of them when I gave talks as examples of the kind of posters that are produced in China.

SENATOR WELKER. Now that you have gone into that matter, where were you giving these talks where you would use these exhibits had they not been taken away from you?

MR. HINTON. Look, Senator Welker. If I may say so, this matter we went into in the first hearing; we went into it yesterday. If we are going to go through all these other hearings, I would like permission to read the statement which I had at the first hearing. I would like permission to read that. It describes in summary the work I did in China and what I felt about it, and more or less it gives a picture of the kind of lecture I gave.

If we are going to go through everything again, I think that it is only fair that I should be able to read that original statement again, too.

SENATOR WELKER. You want to go back and read the testimony that you gave before?

MR. HINTON. The statement which I gave to the committee at the first hearing in July 1954.

SENATOR WELKER. You certainly are familiar with what you gave to the committee.

MR. HINTON. I would like to read it again into the record, since there seems to be a whole series of questions that have been the same, and I think it is only fair that my statement at that time should also again go into the record and become a part of the record of the hearing.

SENATOR WELKER. Now, I appreciate the fact that you would like to include what you want to include in this record, and we are going to do our best to present this in the record fairly and impartially. We

are sorry if we cannot abide by all your requests. I merely ask you what group you were speaking before when you would have used these posters.

Mr. HINTON. I would have used it in all my talks.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Mr. HINTON. I would have had some examples of posters and other art of China.

Senator WELKER. Now, do you desire to tell me today what groups you spoke before, since you returned from Red China?

Mr. HINTON. As to the groups before which I have spoken, I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment, as previously stated—

Senator WELKER. But you tell me—

Mr. HINTON (continuing). And the first amendment.

Senator WELKER. You tell me that you would have used these had they not been confiscated from you, and yet you will not tell me upon the grounds of the fifth amendment, since it might tend to incriminate you, what groups you spoke before; is that fair?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't say I would have used these. I would have used the posters I brought back, or some of them.

Senator WELKER. Are you saying that you did not bring any of these pictures back?

Mr. HINTON. What I said was that I couldn't positively identify them; I couldn't identify them. I did bring back posters. I brought back 78, as I recall, though I wouldn't want to stick on the exact number.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, directing your attention to the exhibit at the upper left-hand corner that you have just been viewing, did you ever see a poster like that in Red China?

Mr. HINTON. I think I saw posters like that; yes.

Senator WELKER. And if you saw them, probably as part of your historic record, as you call it, you probably would have bought some; is that right?

Mr. HINTON. I tried to buy examples of the posters that came out each year. All I am saying is that I can't positively identify that particular poster as one. As I suggested, I brought back some 78. There are very few put out here. It is hard to say, because there are lots of these posters that are available all over the world, and it is very easy to obtain them, and they could be bought and displayed.

As I said yesterday, similar posters to these were displayed at the library of Stanford University when I was out there some time ago.

Senator WELKER. Did you speak in the library of Stanford University?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I didn't.

Senator WELKER. Did you speak to anyone at Stanford University?

Mr. HINTON. Anyone?

Senator WELKER. Any group, or any one group?

Mr. HINTON. No.

Senator WELKER. Did you speak to any one group in the State of Colorado?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments, and protest again that where I spoke I believe is not a proper concern of this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify all the photographs on both of those boards? And Mr. Chairman——

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Posters.

Mr. MORRIS. Posters and pictures together. And when they are identified by Mr. McManus, may they go into the record as samples of Communist propaganda that turned up in the footlocker?

Senator WELKER. It is so ordered.

Mr. McMANUS. All of these exhibits, including the posters and the photographs, were in Mr. Hinton's footlocker, which was opened and examined under my supervision.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you please state how many there are?

Mr. McMANUS. What is that?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you mention the number of them there, so that we will be sure that these exact ones go into the record?

Mr. McMANUS. There are 12 posters and 3 photographs.

I should have pointed out, Mr. Chairman, that the English-language translations were not in the footlocker. Those were obtained from the Library of Congress.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

The exhibits so identified by Mr. McManus will go into the record and by reference be made a part thereof.

(The photographs and posters were marked "Exhibits 45 through 45N.")

(One of the photographs described by the witness as a ceremony opening a tractor-training class and one of the posters, with a translation of the Oriental characters, are reproduced on the following pages. The remainder may be found in the subcommittee files.)

EXHIBIT No. 45



(A translation of the characters on the banner at the top of the picture was provided the subcommittee by the Library of Congress and is as follows:)

The opening ceremony of the winter session of the Government-owned farm training school.

EXHIBIT No. 45-A

CELEBRATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

- INAUGURATION CERIMONY OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
- LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
- LONG LIVE THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT.
- LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO.
- LONG LIVE THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY.
- THE BIRTH OF NEW CHINA.
- CELEBRATE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
- CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF NEW CHINA.

慶祝中華人民共和國成立



Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, while you were in China—and I am going to call it Red China—did you have any connection with Red Chinese forces?

Mr. HINTON. With the Red Chinese forces?

Senator WELKER. Military forces.

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. No; I had no such connection.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever write anything with respect to military happenings in the area around Tsinan?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. As to my writings, I stand on the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You do not care to tell the committee whether or not you wrote anything about military conditions around Tsinan?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I will repeat that as to anything I may have written, I stand on the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments. I would like to add that I never was in the Tsinan area.

Senator WELKER. Did you have any way of coming into the possession of any material written about the military situation as it existed in the Tsinan area?

Mr. HINTON. What area was that, again?

Senator WELKER. Well, I am not going to compete with you, because I know you are an expert on Chinese. Now, you pronounce it for me and I will agree with you.

Mr. HINTON. I would have to hear it. Spell it. You could spell it.

Senator WELKER. It is spelled T-s-i-n-a-n.

Mr. HINTON. Yes; I recognize the name. That is the capital of Shantung Province.

Senator WELKER. Yes. Were you there?

Mr. HINTON. No. I have never been to Tsinan, the capital of Shantung Province.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever come into the possession of any literature or document with respect to the military situation there?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and the fourth and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, would you identify the next document?

Mr. McMANUS. This is a document headed, "1. Conditions in Tsinan." It was found in the footlocker of Mr. Hinton and removed under my supervision.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that document go in the record?

Senator WELKER. Yes, that document, the whole thereof, will go into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 46" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 46

1. CONDITIONS IN TSINAN

I. STATISTICS

Tsinan is militarily an important strategic point in East China. Politically, economically, culturally, it is relatively important (though not compared with Peiping and Shanghai). It is a modernly constructed city. Experiences gained here can be used as patterns for larger cities.

Population over 700,000; 150,000 families; 300 foreigners (80 families); 190 square li. Made up of three districts: (a) business district. Contains large scale business and banks. Well laid out roads, etc. (b) City district (inside wall). Not so well constructed. Middle and poor urban population live here. But quite well developed and a lot of historical sites. Schools in this district include Cheeloo Univ. (c) Industrial district. To north of business district; has flour mills, weaving mills, arsenals, machine repair shops, etc.

The chief characteristics of the town are commercial and industrial. Light industry predominates—spinning mills, flour mills, match factories. Heavy industry not developed as Taiyuan. Four spinning mills employ over 1,500 workers (?) and there are 8 small mills. The average output of cloth is 50,000 to 60,000 bolts a month. Of 8 large flour mills, 1 is public and 7 are private. They have a very large output; e. g., one private mill puts out daily 6,500 bags (44 catties a bag). Seven match factories. And lots of smaller factories—chemical, needle, cigarettes, shoes, kettles, ice, soft drinks, and small machine shops.

As for commerce, there are 8,800 shops, big and small; 90 banks; 90 guilds (?).

As for education and culture, there are 13 newspapers; 21 news agencies; high schools with about 6,000 students; more than 20 movies; 18 bookshops; libraries; museums; and swimming pools, etc. Relatively it has considerable cultural equipment. All controlled by CC clique.

Public utilities are much better than those in Shihchiachuang. Adequate power and large-scale running water system. There were 12 large pumps, 9 were destroyed but the remaining 3 were enough to supply the whole city.

As for communications, there is a very large railway station. Yards, tracks, etc., are very adequate. They are electrified (the Japs had fixed them up). Many buses and private cars and pedicabs.

Under the KMT rule its secret service was greatly expanded. All KMT organizations had officers in Tsinan. Secret societies, Buddhist associations, missions, relief and people's organizations, i. e., women's organizations, mothers' organizations, young women's organizations, in fact, organizations for people of every age. There were more than 50 organizations.

There were 2,000 open police and about 10,000 secret agents.

There was a three-level administration. Extremely expanded. There were 4 big bureaus; 8 subbureaus; and hundreds of low bureaus. Such organization no good for us—extremely overexpanded. Its control and oppression of the people unimaginably strong.

As for the food problem, 70 percent of the people haven't enough. People said that if we had come 10 days later how many would have starved to death. Tsinan needs 80,000 catties of grain a day (by our standard, 100,000 catties be needed). Last March Wang Yaowu issued orders to register all grain and to put in food reserve. In August, he ordered that the grain in reserve be inspected. He used this as an excuse to confiscate and add to the Government supply, leaving each family with only 5 days' grain supply. Every one including merchants were mobilized to build fortifications so people couldn't even earn a living.

The 11 big prisons were completely packed. Mostly the city poor arrested on all kinds of pretexts. Every policeman was an overlord. Life of the citizens was completely controlled. Nothing progressive could be seen. In bookshops we could only find counterrevolutionary books.

Tsinan was taken in 8 days because of heavy artillery concentration. So there was considerable destruction. Electric wires, housing, etc. The city was destroyed but not the business section, because Wang Yaowu put up his last resistance in the city—the main post office constructed of stone was his final headquarters. It was completely destroyed. All the streets had cement pillboxes—over 500 big ones. One's first impression is of dead bodies everywhere. We buried 8,800 (incomplete figure). KMT wounded everywhere. Place very evil smell.

This gives you an idea of the work which had to be done.

II. REHABILITATION AND POLICY QUESTIONS

Two quicks—captured quick, recovered quick. This was because the policy was correct and carried out well. The battle ended on the 24th. On 25th and 26th administrative cadres of Government army and CP had entered and organized the military government (military administration council—MAC). This is the highest authority in Tsinan during military period—highest both relating to us and to the city people. United leadership for 1 month. The MAC completely cleaned up the city, buried all the dead, cleaned the streets, removed fort and pillboxes, restored electricity and water supply. Businesses were all opened except for banks. In 15 days the railroad was opened to Yenchow. Roads all repaired. Buses running to Telchow. All arms were taken over and registered. There was so much military equipment, enough to capture Hsuechow. Millions of bullets. Just before we left we found a secret store of artillery shells. KMT aircraft came to bomb it and thus made an opening, so we discovered the shells. There were a tremendous number of cars and trucks. Taking over the property was a great job in itself, but it was completed.

In 1 month rehabilitation was very quick. At the end of the month we could do away with MAC because the task was completed—due to the correct leadership of the central committee of the CCP and the East China Central Bureau, and because of the detail preparation and able leadership of the MAC.

At first it was decided that there should be a material takeover command, but later the MAC was decided upon. Now the head was —, the vice head was the secretary of org. department of the East China Buro. There three secretary generals. There were 16 departments under the Council, Political Department, etc. Whatever department the enemy had, we set up an opposite number to take it over and wipe it out. All were completely under the military. In economic field we had commercial, industrial, employment, radio, communi-

cations, power, production, post offices, and financial departments. Under city administration we had publicity, police, medical, educational, and control of material. There was a garrison department and air-raid precaution department. Each department had work teams, field groups, and different sections.

The cadres of each department had been transferred from similar departments elsewhere. Bankworkers worked in bankwork, etc. Cadres were kept in their own line as far as possible. The head of each department was a high cadre (brigadier general status) who could independently master policy, was able in his new field. No major policy mistakes were made.

Whether not this organization is adequate there is still room for study. Personally I think some subsections could be combined for example, the post telegraph. Perhaps or organization a bit overexpanded. If we could combine, we might save cadres.

Another method of taking over was by district.

Each department has a clear-cut prepared policy. The policy of the garrison headquarters was (a) to quiet the people, (b) to take care of the wounded, (c) protect public peace, (d) (?). The publicity bureau policies were (a) to take care of existing publishing houses, (b) to quickly put out a newspaper and correctly respond the policy of the Communist Party and help quiet the people, (c) to support order. (These are 2 examples out of the 16 departments. Each had its clear-cut policy.) The leading organization takes the actual situation and makes its own policy according to the main policy.

The police established 11 offices, 1 in each district. The garrison had 11 subheadquarters, etc. (two garrison brigades were taken into the city). This seems a lot but was very effective. The SS couldn't even raise their head. There was no such activity as the shooting of guns to frighten people. There were car squads constantly patrolling during raids. During one air raid a cook went into a tunnel and found 11 people armed with mausers. He said, "Hand over your guns or I'll throw grenades." These 11 *tehwn* had lived in the tunnel a couple of days, not daring to go out.

Perhaps this method will need changing for other cities. Police excellent, but probably the garrison should not have been so dispersed. There were always the secret service men in every city. The problem is how to clear them out. If we disperse our garrison troops too much—11 subheadquarters with three machineguns each—they will be too weak. Probably several should be grouped together with adequate arms. This needs further study.

City organization.—We had to use old personnel. Proclamations clearly indicate this but they didn't solve the problem alone. We had to have registration and hostels. We set up 20 hostels and registration offices, e. g., we had a guesthouse for registering foreign personnel—good building well furnished, western meals. We had cars for communication. We had a special guesthouse for engineering personnel; a guesthouse for dispersed odd soldiers; a telegraph office workers; teachers; bus workers; peddlers; police; radio; medical workers; water plant employees.

Each individual factory has special registration. Registration offices everywhere; so besides proclamations there were organizations for carrying it out. The people were very enthusiastic. They queued up around the proclamations, many of them taking down notes. We solved their work problems. The only people we had no open office for were the SS men.

We established a basis for work and the work of each department became standardized. Under the MAC there were 16 departments, but these became city organizations after the basis had been laid. The MAC standardized, put on a regular basis, and handed over to the city administration: e. g., the subsidiary military organizations came under the military, not under Tsinan authority, but under the regional military authority. Communication department came under the railway. Finance department came under the Bo Hai Bank. Education came under the city education department; medical work under the city medical department. In this way the organization became regularized as a city organization, no longer as a temporary military one. But personnel were the same. Highest authority of the MAC was handed over to the Tsinan party bureau.

For this to come about there had to be many meetings, organizations, etc., to serve as the basis for transfer to the city CP bureau. After the transfer the only job left to the military council was control of enemy property.

The city government worked out well. Both the mayor and vice mayor were from the CP bureau.

The preparatory work was very full and adequate. There was complicated ideological and professional of the cadres; but it was successful. Just like the

attack on Tsinan, this was fully prepared. We started at the time of the capture of Yenchow in July; thus there were 2 full months of preparation. We organized a "Committee for preparing the Attack on Tsinan" (but for security reasons we called it Construction Committee of Jingjow). We made detailed investigation of the economic, political, industrial conditions of Tsinan. The material of this investigation was used for the cadres' preparation course. Directories gave the names of all KMT personnel of all grades. Maps showed the names of even the smallest lanes. We did not have enough Tsinan cadres to act as guides for the fighters, but after the training even the natives of Tsinan were not so familiar with the troops as our troops. 7,000 odd cadres were prepared. We asked at first for 10,000-20,000.

Cadres were educated: in policy; and in vocation. We picked cadres who had taken part in practical work. After the capture of Weishian many cadres were sent to work there; some thought there were far too many, but when Tsinan was captured we pulled many of them out and put them there. This had an important leavening effect because of their practical experience. The same thing will happen in Tsinan. Many cadres will be sent there to study. They will study in a very detailed way, e. g., there are 600-700 in the police school. Their vocational training is just like military maneuvers. They have practice in handling traffic. We even laid out roads and had people act as motor cops so that they could have experience in directing traffic. The police were taught how to enter homes to carry on the census registration. We told them what they should say so that people should not think our LA cadres country bumpkins. This vocational training is very good.

Policy training is also extremely important. We worked out the practical execution of MAC's policies in detail. The East China Bureau worked out details for every department, including proclamations, forms, etc. There was a whole book full of proclamation patterns which could be adapted to fit the situation. The proclamation book and the document book were about 2 inches thick. They included patterns for all possible types of orders, so that the cadres had only to rewrite them. Cadres carried these books with them. If a cadre on arrival found he had to hold a meeting or issue a proclamation, he was well prepared in advance. Orders and proclamations had to suit the actual conditions. The principles were made clear before the battle. Our personnel were all mobilized. "We're attacking and occupying Tsinan; what attitude should we take towards the people." This propaganda filtered into the city and as each district was occupied, posters were pasted up at once. By the time the occupation was completed, the city was absolutely covered with posters. If you waited to print these posters before getting into the city, you would be in the midst of battle and nobody would have time to write them.

Each soldier of the 3d PLA had his 3 disciplines and 8 points for attention, but concretized for the city. The military council had worked out 11 points and 52 action slogans. These were printed in advance and posted all over the city. Fight, paste, fight, paste—that's what the soldiers did. The 3d PLA carried out excellent preparation so their work was excellent.

Currency Policy.—Step 1: Proclamation; stop using fapi at once. After this proclamation another one gave concrete details what to do with fapi. Step 2: Stabilization of the Bohai Bank currency; it was the only currency allowed (there was a limited period between steps 1 and 2 when fapi could circulate). Step 3: Consolidation of confidence in the Bohai notes. We posted three proclamations: Expose Chiang's attempt to destroy Bohai currency through forgeries (we showed the people how to expose it). CKS aimed to destroy the currency by circulating counterfeit. We named all the kinds and posted samples on the proclamations, so even these counterfeits had to be collected before the battle. This raised people's confidence in Bohai currency (we also posted up genuine samples to help the people distinguish). Step 4: Completion of the stabilization. Step 5: Provided for other LA exchange rate. All were made acceptable in Tsinan. This is an example how the policy principle was worked out step by step.

All business started up except for the banks. As for them we proclaimed temporary regulations for Shantung Provincial Bank. Questions arose because accounts, interest, loans, etc., were all in fapi. So detailed procedure was posted up on how to handle all these things. If we had posted up this proclamation on the first day it would have been of no use, but it was prepared in advance to be put up at the appropriate time.

Communications were organized immediately. Since the main road was 20 li long it was essential to set up some sort of transportation at once. Traffic

regulations were needed immediately. Some of our own drivers were not very expert and injured people, but the drivers were very responsible and the victims were given immediate care, etc., so there was no bad effect.

Curfew started off district by district. As soon as the residents had been checked up and the census made, it was let up.

One problem was to reorganize quickly so that we could collect the rates on electricity and water supply.

For each field concrete specific details, policies and proclamations were prepared. The main thing connecting it all was: "The mass-movement." So the people's response to the proclamation was wonderful. From morning till night they would stand around reading the various proclamations and writing them down. *You can't use country methods in the city.* In the village you can call a meeting, but not in the city; just try.

Execution of two important policies: 1. K'an Kuan:

The taking over and protecting of depots and warehouses is a very important part of our work in cities. Who is to do this while the fighting is actually going on? Somehow arrangements must be made to avoid destruction. Who does it? Combat troops. They have the tasks of destroying the enemy and of caring for property. This *must* be done. If care is not taken, SS agents will steal everything; the damage would be terrific and would run into figures of astronomical proportions.

But in the long run the task must be carried out by the ordinary combat troops themselves, not by high officers. If proper education on this point were not carried out, therefore, it could not be fulfilled.

In Tsinan all this was very well done. There was no major loss of material or damage to equipment and buildings such as schools, factories, etc. This was of great aid in the quick rehabilitation of the city. The necessary education was given to each individual soldier on this point and every ganbuh understood it. The principle was expressed in a six-word slogan: Protect, care for, construct (?).

Nevertheless this protection and caring for property was a very difficult job and the soldiers much preferred fighting to "K'ann kuan"; e. g., in one company of 80 men, 45 men were put to guard 14 warehouses. Each of these men had to stand guard for 13 hours. (Gave examples of other companies posting so many guards etc.) The men took these duties with the utmost seriousness, e. g., one man had been on guard many hours and his relief did not come. Some friends offered to take over to give him a rest but he refused saying that he must stay at his post until it was officially taken over.

As to the attitude toward protection of property, one cook whose shoes were worn out took a new pair. Then he thought things over and remembered official instructions and sorrowfully took them off and put them back and put on his old worn-out pair again. Another soldier was stationed for the night in a room with a beautiful mahogany table covered with all sorts of papers. Rather than disturb the papers, he slept on the floor. The soldiers were so anxious to avoid any breaches of the 3 Great Disciplines and the 8 Points for Attention that before entering the city many of them had made a special point of preparing needles and thread. This was especially notable among the soldiers, though ganbuh occasionally took enough ink to fill their pens.

Of course there were some breaches of discipline, but the overwhelming majority observed it satisfactorily. If anything, the weakness lay in leaning over backward and some things which should have been taken and used were not, e. g., in one case there was a large case of valuable medicines, etc., and the soldier who found it left it alone. When he reported to his superiors he was told to go back and get it but it was too late; the looters had already taken it. Judgment in this sort of case has to be taught; the main thing is not to steal for personal use.

Point 2. Work Relief:

This was used in the task of clearing the city of dead bodies, burying them, cleaning the streets, etc. There was no organization already existing in the city, as there is in the villages, for getting this done. So somehow the people had to be organized, but not by force. We ourselves had not brought with us personnel for this job so we had to mobilize the inhabitants.

The three main principles used in mobilizing people for this job were: education, payment, and taking turns. So we educated, paid, and took them off relief all at once. This job was very well done. The city was cleaned up, the fortifications leveled, and the streets cleaned all with 7-10 days.

This was a big task. 13,000 people were mobilized, 8,898 corpses were buried—all of them outside the city. 868 animals were also buried and 384 pillboxes in 11 city chiu were destroyed. 4,000 land mines were also dealt with—by the troops. Around Cheeloo University conditions were especially chaotic. The students were afraid to come out of the cellars where they'd been hiding, for fear of land mines.

Altogether 75,000 jin of grain was distributed for work relief and \$980,000 (?) Jinan. Special regulations were drawn up regarding the turn-taking system. 15 jin was paid for each body buried; 25 jin for an animal; 40 jin for a pillbox leveled. The old bao-jia system in each district was used. Each district organized groups of body carriers with one ganbuh in charge of 3 or 4 groups. For work done, the ganbuh in charge handed out vouchers which could be exchanged for the suitable amount of grain. At the same time he carried on educational and propaganda work.

The educational effect of all this was very good because it was done among the poor and destitute. The slogan launched was "li gung"—work for the people. Groups who did especially good work received a bonus, such as a bag of white flour. What was considered good work? This was standardized; e. g., some of the pillboxes contained various types of things, equipment, etc. If this was all carefully handed over before beginning the destruction, etc., etc. In the course of the work the people themselves spontaneously labeled some as "Active Elements," using these and other words which they learnt from the ganbuh. Out of this work there developed 25 permanent organized groups of the city poor. To obtain similar results in villages would be extremely difficult. In a city, if the work is well done, it's easy.

The ganbuh showed a great sense of responsibility. One woman ganbuh, for example, herself took part in burying the dead. She helped by joining in the groups of 2 people, each group carrying a corpse, 2-3 li to the place of burial. The bodies stank and so did her clothes which became all bloody, but she took all this in her stride. This had a great effect on the people working with her. This was a practical example of how the LA ganbuh really work for the people and it was very effective. This work was not actually required of her; she did it solely out of a sense of responsibility.

As to the destruction of pillboxes: the people said, "Wang Yao Wu came and made us build pillboxes everywhere. The Liberation Army comes and says knock them down. They certainly must have great strength to be so confident that they don't need them." So the people were greatly impressed.

These are some of the aspects of the relief policy.

The preparatory work for the burial was inadequate. There wasn't the right equipment, no masks, gloves, etc. In summer there would thus have been very great danger of disease, though in the cold weather we got away with it. We must make preparations of this sort.

We used the bomb craters for burying bodies—the KMT dug their own graves.

Confiscation of bureaucratic capital and protection of private property:

This work was well done. A proclamation was issued: "Bureaucratic capital will be taken over, private capital will be protected; functionaries of both stay on the job." This was general party policy.

How were industry and banks taken over? In the case of the Bank of China, for example, everything was taken over in a very smooth operation—equipment, accounts, etc., everything. This was a very big problem for there are many banks in Tsinan. All were handed over and 98 percent of their personnel registered. Out of a total of 600 employees, 400 came over to work for us. Two percent, the big shots, had left before by air. Some who wanted to didn't manage to get away.

In the Central Bank of China, for instance, accounts, money, material, account books, everything was labeled, tied up, indexed, and put away neatly in the safes. When we went in, the keys and index was handed over by the staff. This was very good; it showed that they understood our policy, that it was a correct policy and had been correctly carried out.

This finance is a very complicated business. If things are not taken over properly, there's a great opportunity for squeeze. So we had to take one place as an example. This was the Central Bank of China. An example had to be made here so as to avoid squeeze all round.

There were all sorts of inner conflicts in the banking field; wherever Chiang Kai-shek is there are inner conflicts. Here the disunity was very great, for the other banks like the Communications Bank, etc., were discriminated against by CKS. He stopped them from printing currency and imposed other restrictions on them; e. g., the Central Bank was allowed to give an interest rate of 45 per-

cent; the other banks were allowed only 18 percent. Foreign exchange could be handled by the Central Bank only and all military personnel had to deposit their money there. So the other banks were anti-CKS. They did not wish to accept staff sent to them from Central Bank, but if because of influence they were forced to, they would discriminate against the appointee, giving him poor pay, etc. This was the case when the appointee got his job through influence, not on the grounds of technical proficiency. The other three banks worked against the Central Bank in business circles, etc. There were \$12 million GY in the Central Bank and some fapi; other banks had little of either. So the great task was to take over the Central Bank well. Then the others would fall into line.

The principles for taking over were: strict investigation and broad outlook, in action. These bankers might have looked down their noses at our rough clothes and speech which is not like that of bankers. So they might have tried to fool us when it came to the handling over. Our task was to make them respect us. So we put able and highly qualified comrades onto this work who had a professional understanding of it. They caught the bankers up on quite a number of points and showed that they were not easily fooled. This made a very great impression.

We gave them collective treatment (examining various people individually about the same point?). The vice head of the Bank of Communications was caught out trying to graft 60 ounces of gold from the account of a co-op. He was hauled up for this and we gained much prestige. On the other hand we didn't bother about trifles, small amounts missing, small accounts, petty pilfering, etc. In this way, displaying a broad outlook, we got the initiative.

There was a clear policy toward both the junior and senior staff. Both were offered the option of either staying or going. Some of the higher-ups tried to influence the junior staff to go along with them, saying: "Let's all go together." How were we to handle the problem of the lower and middle staff, since the head of the bank had an ideological hold over his subordinates. We concentrated on them working from the bottom up. Finally, only the manager and his wife elected to go; all the rest stayed (presumably this refers to Central Bank of China). So on the whole we were very successful.

At first the senior staff didn't believe it when we said they would be allowed to go, so we proved it by action, placing cars at their disposal and providing protection, as far as Tsingtao. Even the manager, in the end, was affected by this and offered us suggestions on the subject of taking over and banking in general. He said: "CKS is bound to collapse. That's clear. We'd be glad to stay, but we're afraid your living conditions are too tough for us to stand—even if we ate shao tzao. But when we get to Shanghai we'll go into training for when we see you there again. Your principles are O. K. We'll spread them around for you."

The manager of the Central Bank of China (Chen's friend) told friends that the LA army was the best disciplined army in Chinese history. They came to his home asking if he had firearms. When he said he didn't, they showed no interest in other things of his. He invited soldiers to have tea and refreshments, but they refused what he offered. Then he felt suspicious of his behavior, thinking he had offered them too little. Offered a wristwatch and pen, but also refused. Soldier then explained LA policies. "It was the first time I ever met anyone who didn't want to accept valuable things," manager said.

Manager told us 3 or 4 KMT people needed to do job one LA cadre could do, because LA attitude toward work different. However he offered suggestions for improving our work. He said: "You people are not very citified and you must raise your technical and vocational levels."

This was correct. Our city style was not very good. Some cadres even afraid to talk to city people. For example, in exchanging currency, made many blunders.

Manager told us: there are three kinds of bureaucratic capitalists—those who can escape to America or Hongkong; those who can go to Shanghai and Canton; and those who cannot run away. He asked us to leave a road out for the latter, so that they can live. For instance, he said, you allow landlords to have enough land to maintain their livelihood, and in the same way, you should leave us with a little capital also.

Manager suggested that when we take over Shanghai banking, must be careful not to close banks long or this will make industry collapse. He advised placing supervisors in charge of big banks, who will have final authority, but let banks continue pending thorough investigations. In Tsinan, he noted all banks closed for 20 days while banking taken over. In Shanghai, need at least 40 days for same procedure. But in that period, everything would stop there.

The suggestions this manager made reflects that our policy toward him was correct.

Four: Policies must be flexible:

In confiscating bureaucratic capital, we must apply our policies flexibly, not dogmatically. We used a different policy toward the Ta Lai Bank in Tsinan than toward the Central Bank and Commercial Bank. The Ta Lai bank had been forced to close last April by KMT oppression. Therefore we did not confiscate it.

In taking over, don't use "frontal takeover." Take the firm over in parts. When we went to the Central Bank, the manager and vice manager were not in, so we went on to the secretary and we took over the departments under him. If we had waited until we could assemble all personnel, the process would have been very slow leaving time to destroy the documents.

Fifth: Currency.

Currency is a very big problem in taking over a large city. We can defeat Chiang's armies and politics but his currency remains. We must solve this problem quickly. In Tsinan our administrative cadres entered on the 25th. On the same day we issued regulations for handling currency based on two general methods: (1) opening exchange places (2) exporting currency—currency was wrapped in a cloth, sealed, registered (we gave receipt) and this could be taken outside the liberated areas or to any places within the liberated areas. Through this method we sent lots of fapi back to KMT areas.

Fapi taken in by the exchange shops was also sent out of LA. We limited the amount that could be exchanged and the denomination of banknotes in order to provide advantages to middle and lower income groups who had no way to use fapi in KMT areas. The main principle was to send back as quickly as possible. Our success gave us a great economic victory. Within 15 to 20 days we got all fapi back to Chiang's area, sending out 1,400,000 hundred millions CNC. This was a terrible blow to Chiang. On October 5th and 6th, in Tsingtao 1 ounce of silver cost 240 gold yen. Within 10 days, because we sent out this currency, the price was 100 gold yen per ounce. Had we delayed, the liberated area economy would have suffered badly.

We fixed the exchange rate at 2 million fapi to 1 penpi. We didn't exchange \$500,000 banknotes. However, Tsinan prices rose 3 to 6 times because we undervalued our money. This was an error.

Chiang used method to oppose us. After Tsinan fell, Tsingtao immediately announced that fapi couldn't be circulated after November 1st (shortening the original time limit of November 15th). Chiang thought we would be left with the worthless currency but he failed because by October 15th we had sent all of his money out. Since \$500,000 notes couldn't be circulated in KMT areas, we would not take them either.

But we were weak technically in handling this currency problem. For example, none of our 11 exchange shops could make their accounts balance. They gave out too much money. One shop alone gave out \$300,000 penpi too much in 1 day. The cashier said they counted wrong, and this was true for our cadres. But there was some sabotage because we had to use old cashiers from the banks and we didn't know how to control them. It had been the principle of all banks to make cashiers responsible for their money. But we didn't use this method, so some put money in their pockets.

Sixth: Win over all of Chiang's functionaries:

The policy for KMT personnel is the same as for army prisoners. Low civilian employees are given help for their families, money to leave the LA, etc. We also show leniency to higher personnel.

MISCELLANEOUS

There were over 300 foreigners in Tsinan and we gave them complete protection. The enemy had turned Cheeloo University into fortress with pillboxes, landmines, trenches, and so forth. But we didn't use heavy artillery there even during the hardest fighting. So the damage was relatively small. Although their high buildings made good artillery positions for attacking the inner city we didn't station our troops there even overnight. After Tsinan's liberation our troops started at Chiloo first to clean up landmines, etc. The education department sent representative to comfort them, held meeting to explain our policies, and helped them reopen classes on the 18th. We gave them help in collecting their dairy cattle that had scattered during the battle. Forty or

fifty out of the sixty cows were returned. We also gave food and flour for the school. We sent out their personal messages that they were safe. No definite regulations regarding religious education beyond the principle that seditious activities must stop. In preparing for the battle, our troops and city cadres were told not to touch foreign property and to protect foreigners. We didn't even borrow a single book from the libraries. We sealed their buildings until school reopened to avoid any possible destruction.

In general students in Tsinan had a very low political consciousness and there was no open students' movement. The students were suspicious of us and some shaved their heads and wore laopaihsing clothes. Of 1,300 students in the normal school, all except 300 to 400 hid themselves until they saw our policy. The educational bureau held a meeting to explain our student policy and then they returned.

Our policy for private schools was to start classes as soon as possible. We changed the names of public schools to Tsinan 1, 2, 3, public school. We combined a few because of teacher shortage. We created some specialized schools. We started a business and commercial school which got 1,800 students within 10 days. Many Cheeloo students wanted to go to Hwapei. Some special schools like the normal school were closed because they were full of secret agents and the students were sent to other schools. We had prepared teaching cadres to become principals of public schools, and we provided teachers for political study. Otherwise the teaching staffs remained the same. We gave relief funds to students and grain relief to schools in need.

We had organized six dramatic groups to carry on cultural activities. Two evening meetings were held—one, a musical evening lasting from 5 to 12 P. M. All schools participated, but they could only sing popular romantic songs.

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, are you paying attention? We are doing business here and we do not want to take advantage of you.

Now, he has identified a document. Did you hear the document described by him?

Mr. HINTON. I assumed that this that was being handed out was the thing that he was identifying.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

I notice you are conferring with counsel. I am now showing you the exhibit so that you will not say that we were not fair with you, and I have admitted the whole of that exhibit into the record.

Mr. HINTON. I would like to correct a statement that the whole of it is in. At least, what was handed to me here and what is—oh, well, in the record, maybe, yes, but not on this mimeographed sheet. There is not the whole of what is on this document.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment, now. I want to be fair.

Counsel, did you hear?

Would you read Mr. Hinton's statement back?

(The statement of Mr. Hinton was read by the reporter.)

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, to correct that matter, I am saying that the whole of the document is going in, and not any mimeographed article that you might have before you.

Mr. HINTON. Thank you, Mr. Senator, because what was left out—what was in seems to concern military; what was left out seemed to concern public utilities, shops, schools, factories, and information of other sorts, and I think it would give the wrong impression simply to cut that out.

Senator WELKER. The whole of it is going in, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. The entire document goes into the record.

Excessing Perishment of CPB

[illegible]

Now, Mr. Hinton, will you look at the right-hand board there, those charts there? Let us take the upper left-hand chart. Will you tell us what that chart is, if it is a chart?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, directing your attention to the chart that you have just examined, do you recognize the handwriting thereon?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. Is it the handwriting of one William H. Hinton, the witness?

Mr. HINTON. My answer is the same.

Senator WELKER. That is, the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. You would not say whether it was your handwriting or not your handwriting?

Mr. HINTON. I would not say whether or not it was my handwriting.

Senator WELKER. Upon the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, do you have the original document of which that is a reproduction?

Mr. McMANUS. I cannot see it. Will you read the heading of that, Senator, so that I can see which one it is?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Arens, will you read the heading on that?

Mr. ARENS. I am sorry. I cannot make out the heading.

Miss MALANEY. It is, "Concerning punishment of CPB."

Mr. ARENS. Right.

Mr. McMANUS. I have the original of that enlargement headed, "List VIII," "Concerning punishment of CPB."

Mr. MORRIS. What does "CPB" stand for, Mr. Hinton?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, is that one of the documents you took from the footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes; that is one of the documents which I took from the footlocker.

All of the exhibits on the board were taken from the footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that go into the record, having been identified by Mr. McManus?

Senator WELKER. It will go into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 47" and is herewith inserted.)¹

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. In the classes that you taught in Red China, was it necessary for you or any of the other supervisors at the school to punish the students?

¹ Other charts will appear in a later volume.

Mr. HINTON. In any of the classes, or training classes that I taught in, I was simply a teacher. I had no responsibilities other than to teach classes.

Senator WELKER. Did anyone else, to your knowledge, have any responsibilities with respect to punishing students?

Mr. HINTON. Schools in China, as elsewhere, have their disciplinary regulations and rules.

Senator WELKER. Did any of your students that you taught in your own individual classes—did any of those students ever receive any punishment from those who had the authority to punish?

Mr. HINTON. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, this refers to punishment of farmers, does it not, and not to students, this particular chart?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you look at the second chart, Mr. Hinton?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Miss MALANEY. The title of that chart is—

Mr. HINTON. But—oh, excuse me.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the title, Miss Malaney?

Miss MALANEY. "Family-by-family record of changes through land reform."

Mr. HINTON. This chart seems to refer to land reform, and I would be happy to describe to the committee the general—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, tell us what that particular chart is.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). The general course of land reform in a Chinese village.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, we would be very glad to hear you on land reform if you will go with us and identify all the other charts. But you refuse even to testify as to whether or not it is your own handwriting. Now, you are not going to pick out one and make a speech on that, unless you make a speech on all of them.

Do I make myself clear?

Mr. HINTON. Yes; you make yourself clear. I am just suggesting that it might be of interest to the committee to hear about land reform and how it happened.

Senator WELKER. I would be interested in having you describe and go fully into the first exhibit appearing on the top left of the board, at your left, Mr. Hinton, and we will go over them all. I would be glad to hear everything about every exhibit there. But you are not going to pick out just one.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Is there a question now?

Senator WELKER. Do you want now to go into all the exhibits there?

Mr. HINTON. As to the documents, I decline to answer about the documents. As to any facts about land reform, any facts about what happened in the course of land reform in the villages, I would be glad to tell about it.

Senator WELKER. But you want to hold it down to land reform. You do not want to give us any other information that might be included in those charts.

Mr. HINTON. I would be glad to talk about what happened in China. But all that you seem to want to do is to trap me into talking about the documents.

Senator WELKER. Oh, Mr. Hinton, I wouldn't trap you for anything.

Mr. HINTON. Oh, no.

Senator WELKER. I am quite certain that the American people would be interested in setting a trap for you, but not this committee. We do not operate that way.

Mr. HINTON. I remember a speech given by Mr. Eastland in 1954—

Senator WELKER. Now, just a moment.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). In which he said—

Senator WELKER. Now, counsel—

Mr. HINTON (continuing). I broke the law, and I am—

Senator WELKER. Now, counsel, I want this held a little bit according to the way that I am sure counsel desires it to be held. I think you will admit that I have tried to protect your client in every way possible. I have even kept out exhibits that counsel has tried to put in here, in fairness to you. But now I am not going to sit here and hear this committee or its chairman embarrassed upon some irrelevant act.

Now will you so advise Mr. Hinton?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir; I will. And I do not think we will have any difficulty, if we go right along.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Now, you stated you would like to speak and testify about land reform. Would you like to tell me anything about a struggle meeting held in the area in which you were in Red China on February 1, 1948?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I don't know what this refers to.

Senator WELKER. A struggle meeting wherein a certain Chinese person was punished, punished severely, with long and unusual hours of suffering before other people witnessing this suffering. Do you want to tell us anything about that? Or do you know anything about it?

Mr. HINTON. There were many meetings in those areas at that time in which people who had committed crimes or had broken regulations or had committed acts against the law—one of the things that happened in those circumstances was that they had to go before their colleagues, their students, and they had meetings in which there were criticisms from all sides, and they had a chance to answer the criticisms, and that was the way a great deal of the education of people was carried on in—

Senator WELKER. They way the education of a great deal of people was carried on?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. As a matter of fact, those people were held up as objects of ridicule before their fellow students, and also those attending the meetings would have to stay up and watch this embarrassment for late and unusual hours, long hours of the night, and walk many, many miles; is that not correct?

Mr. HINTON. There were two kinds of meetings. One was among colleagues and students. The others were in the case where, during

land reform, in the case where landlords were involved; they were not regarded as colleagues and friends of the people at the meeting. So in cases where landlords were involved, they called it a struggle meeting. In cases——

Senator WELKER. Now you have found out at last what a struggle meeting was. A moment ago I thought you did not know what a struggle meeting was.

Mr. HINTON. No. You spoke of a certain date and a certain time That is what I didn't know.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, what is a struggle meeting?

Mr. HINTON. Well, from all that I could learn, from being there, these meetings were held during the land reform when those landlords who had committed crimes and who had a bad record of oppressing people were brought before the village and asked to—or they faced the peasants who had been their tenants over the years, and the peasants had a chance to speak out and say the grievances which they had against them.

Senator WELKER. Yes. Now, do you recall a struggle meeting held in the giant Catholic church about February 1, 1948, which you attended?

Mr. HINTON. I remember attending a meeting at which a faculty member of the college, who had opposed land reform in his own village and had physically punished peasants in his own village, who were at that time carrying out land reform—back at the college he was brought before the meeting of faculty and students, and they did raise opinions and criticize him for several hours.

Senator WELKER. You attended that meeting?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I was there.

Senator WELKER. And is that the meeting where you walked some 30 li to get to the scene of the struggle meeting?

Mr. HINTON. At that time, as I recall it, I was living at the agricultural school——

Senator WELKER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. HINTON (continuing). Which was connected with the college, and the rest of the college was some 30 li away from the agricultural school. All the students——

Senator WALKER. Now, how far is 30 li?

Mr. HINTON. It is approximately 10 miles.

Senator WELKER. And you and others walked this 10 miles to witness this struggle, or to take part in it?

Mr. HINTON. The students, who were students in the school, attended there as members of the student body.

Senator WELKER. And you attended there as one of the faculty?

Mr. HINTON. I went along to see what was happening.

Senator WELKER. All right. What did happen?

Mr. HINTON. Well, just what I described. The man who they claimed abused the peasants in his home village and had tried to circumvent the land reform, was standing before the whole student and faculty body of this university, and many people raised, or made, charges against him, and criticized his actions.

Senator WELKER. Now, I wonder if what I am about to read you—and I will read it to you—correctly portrays what happened at this certain struggle meeting:

As we at the ag school lived more than 30 li from the scene of the meeting, we got up before dawn in the bitter cold, ate a little millet, were given two large, cold-steamed breads apiece for our noon meal, and then set out just as the sun reddened the eastern ridges. The whole student body went along, so that our column was more than a hundred strong. We walked rapidly through the snow across the flat plain, passed mud villages still sleep, and then over the hill to the university. We arrived just in time, for the meeting was about to begin. It was cold in the enormous Catholic church here. The crowd this Sunday would have delighted any priest's heart, for the church was packed from end to end and from side to side and if people could have shinnied up the imitation marble pillars of the nave, they surely would have. But these people were not here to listen to a priest. The stained-glass windows and numerous crosses peered down on as ardent an assemblage of revolutionaries as you are likely to find anywhere, and they had come to reckon with one of their number who had betrayed the revolution. In that huge gathering of over one thousand were men and women from all over China, peasants, workers, landlords and merchants' sons, old hands in the liberated area and newly arrived students with the breath of Peiping still hanging in their nostrils. They were here to examine a former landlord turned comrade and to learn a great political lesson, a class lesson, a lesson about landlord thought and landlord actions.

Does that about describe what took place?

MR. HINTON. That sounds like a pretty good description of it.

Senator WELKER. Then reading further, I will ask you if this sounds like a pretty good description:

The purpose was explained to me by one of the teachers at the college.

I want you to pay attention, because I want to be so fair with you, Mr. Hinton.

This meeting is a mass meeting to struggle against a party member whose thought is typical of the landlord thought in the party and the college. It is not only for his education but also for the education of the whole student body, the faculty, and the masses. This man is a party member, but will be judged not only by the party but by the people. This man was a large landlord in Wuan. He formerly was head of the department of education of Peita and later became a teacher in the culture college. As a member of the landlord class, how did he become a member of the party? His case has been in the papers twice. Everyone has a right to speak, hear, and express their thought. We want to beat his thought, not his body. This party problem has been brought to the masses, not only as an education, but also because, in party meetings and in small group discussions, this man refused criticism. Hence we have brought it out in the open.

Now, does that describe what took place there?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

MR. HINTON. That sounds like an accurate quotation of what the faculty member told me at the time. It sounds like something that he stated to me.

Senator WELKER. You were there at the meeting, were you not?

MR. HINTON. I went to such a meeting.

Senator WELKER. And in this meeting, what did the man who was accused of violating the regulation, or whatever it may have been, the law or the regulation, do? He stood up before the mass of over a thousand people and received the complaints of students, the masses, and the faculty alike; is that correct?

MR. HINTON. As I remember it, that is what happened.

Senator WELKER. Now, does this sound like your return journey, a description of your return journey?

Others make summaries. The meeting finally breaks up. It is after 11 and we have still to walk home the 36 li. We stagger home in the darkness, a long line of weary people. It is so late there is not even anyone on the road check-

ing passes. Finally the moon comes up and lights the way. We stop at a small roadside restaurant in a mud hut. Eat some mantou, cold, and drink a little hot water. We are so tired we can hardly move on, but finally stagger home after 3 in the morning. A 20-mile walk and more than 12 hours of meeting.

The next morning—

are you listening, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. I was following it here on the——

Senator WELKER. Very well. [Continuing:]

The next morning the whole affair is discussed. The Ag students are still muttering. They think the authorities wrong in preventing them from beating the bastard.

Does that describe about what took place there?

Mr. HINTON. I think that describes fairly well what took place and what the attitude of the students was.

Senator WELKER. Did you, William Hinton, the witness before this committee, sworn to tell the truth—did you write that description yourself?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

That appears to me to represent——

Senator WELKER. Now, you answered the question. So if you get into it, I am going to cross-examine further. You have declined to answer upon the grounds of the fifth amendment, and I have accepted your refusal to answer.

Now, if you get into the matter, counselor, will you advise him that I am going to go into this matter quite fully?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not see any need to advise him on anything, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You are his counsel.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think he only wants to make some comment about the appearance of this exhibit.

Senator WELKER. I read to him what I asked him to identify, as to whether or not it took place, and then I asked him whether or not he did not write the words I used in interrogating him.

Mr. HINTON. Many of these words——

Senator WELKER. There is no need for any further interruption of this hearing now, counselor, and I am sure you will cooperate as you have in the past. We are getting along now. We are getting some place. So let us be responsive and do it right.

Mr. HINTON. Many of these words were, of course, quotations of people. That is the way it certainly appears here.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I go back to these charts to have them identified? Mr. Chairman, these charts contain some of the most valuable statistics and most valuable evidence that the committee has encountered anywhere, on the details of how China is being Sovietized. And I wonder if Mr. McManus will read some of the classifications on that first chart to give the chairman an understanding of what that is.

Mr. McMANUS. This is in the chart headed, "Concerning Punishment of CPB."

There are in the middle column, under the heading, "Their mistakes," "(1) Counted on restoration to avoid struggle."

Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. On the left-hand side there is a classification of individuals by name, sex, class, "occ," probably "occupation," age, years in CP, party history.

The next column is entitled, "Their mistakes." Under the heading of "Their mistakes" is some difficult-to-read material, but:

Counted on restoration to avoid struggle—

is one mistake, and the man who made such, apparently gets 2 years' suspension.

Exposure of party. Told—

I can't quite make out the next word—

she was member when party secret, in order to prevent opinions.

(1) Ideologically backward. Afraid to join army, he left post as Vice Leader MIA.

That was 5 months' suspension.

(3) Class line not clear. Beat all alike.

Senator WELKER. What was that?

Mr. McMANUS. "Beat all alike."

Senator WELKER. "Beat all alike"?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes. Then:

Bad style toward basic elements.

I do not know that I can read this. The handwriting in this, Mr. Chairman, compares with the handwriting in diaries—I am not a handwriting expert, but I call that to your attention.

Senator WELKER. Do not go into it if you are not a handwriting expert.

Proceed.

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. MORRIS. We have gotten to the second chart, Mr. Chairman.

What is that second chart, Mr. Hinton?

I think we had gotten to the second chart in identifying those statistical charts.

Senator WELKER. That is the one on land reform. He wanted to explain that.

Is that correct, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what that is, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. You are asking me what that chart is?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, what it is.

Mr. HINTON. I will try to read it, if that is what you want me to do.

Mr. MORRIS. It is a chart that was found in your locker, Mr. Hinton. I wonder if you would tell the committee precisely what it is.

Mr. HINTON. You say it is a chart that was found in my locker.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, do you identify that as one of the papers found in the footlocker?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes. I have already identified that chart as a chart from Mr. Hinton's footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you prepare that chart?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments. If you want me—

Mr. MORRIS. And you also decline to tell us what it is?

Mr. HINTON. If you want me to read it, I will read it for you, as best I can.

Senator WELKER. He has already told you that he declines to tell you what it is. So proceed to the next chart.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything about that second chart, Mr. McManus, that the chairman should know at this time?

Mr. McMANUS. The second chart bears the heading, "Family-by-family record of changes through land reform." These are classifications, statistical classifications. The columns under that heading are names, and then whether they have been—I mean, there are various initials, "LL," and so on, to classify what the individuals are, or the families are.

Mr. MORRIS. Take the third chart, Mr. Arens, will you.

Mr. ARENS. You want me to read that?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. What is that?

Mr. ARENS. "Resettlement of LL's and RF's."

Mr. MORRIS. What is that, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. I will read it for you, if I can. If I can make it out, I will be glad to read it for you.

Senator WELKER. Do you know what it is? Nobody asked you to read it.

Mr. HINTON. I think I can read it——

Senator WELKER. The question was, "Do you know what it is?" Now, do you or do you not know what it is?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer on the fifth. We recognize the declination on the fifth amendment.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, is that one of the documents which were found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker?

Senator WELKER. Counsel, he has identified all of these exhibits as having been found there. Now, let us not repeat on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Let us ask him.

Senator WELKER. All right. Mr. McManus, all of the exhibits appearing on the board at the left of the witness; Where did you find those?

Mr. McMANUS. I found all of those exhibits in Mr. Hinton's footlocker, and they were written on sheets this size [indicating], and they have been enlarged under my supervision.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. McMANUS. May I point out, Senator, that there are a good many more? We found 51 of these charts.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you give the description of each one of those?

And may they be placed in the record, Mr. Chairman?

Just describe them so that we will know which ones are going in the record.

Mr. McMANUS. Here is a chart, a recapitulation which was made. Number of charts in Hinton's possession.

Number of families of from 2 to 15 persons to each family on which records were kept; various classifications.

We made an approximation on the number of families. That would amount to 3,000 persons. The charts were handwritten. Various classifications under which the persons or groups appeared on these charts were as follows:

Families that have Fanshen.

We have in the collection a glossary of terms in which "Fanshen" is defined. That document is not yet in the record.

Families that have not yet Fanshened.

Jan Jwang party members' economic condition and Fanshen.

There is some Chinese inscription which I have not translated.

Jang Jwang—family-by-family record of changes through land reform.

Resettlement of LL's and RF's.

The context of other material in the record indicated that "LL" referred to landlord, and "RF" to rich farmer.

Property confiscated from MF's—and the same classification, middle farmer.

Reasons why MF's were struggled.

Degree of annihilation of feudal conditions.

Concerning punishment of CPB.

Jang Jwang families struggled against.

Repaying wrongly struggled MF's.

Now, statistics on filling holes.

Production material occupied by each class before liberation.

Production materials occupied by each class before filling holes.

Production materials occupied by each class after filling holes.

Changes of leading cadres during movement.

Class of CP members.

Proportion of CP members in leading organizations.

Class of members in leading organizations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, you will have to identify them by name.

Mr. McMANUS. This is a chart which had four headings at the top: "Before Struggle; Amount Confiscated; Things Repaid; Present Condition."

On the left-hand side of this chart are names, and they are classified according to persons, land, house, animal—I can't be sure of that next word. One family or individual under this classification is Wang Gway Jing, 15 persons in this family; 81 land. I don't know what "81" means, 81 acres or what. Under house, 22, and "animal, tools, etc." "everything," and then in further columns on the right it is "SDCM: He (?) killed; some ran away; 5 died."

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, directing your attention to the exhibits that are being sent down to you, the originals, it has been testified that they were found in your footlocker. I will ask you whether or not you know whose handwriting it is on those exhibits. Will you send them down?

(Some documents were handed to the witness.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, the fourth, and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer whether or not it is the handwriting of William H. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, yesterday I interrogated you about a matter. I want to ask you another question about it.

May I have the magnifying glass, please?

Mr. Hinton, directing your attention to a picture—I think this is an enlargement of the picture I showed you yesterday—I believe you told me that was a class that you taught. Now, maybe my memory

slipped. Do you recognize anyone in that group as being your students? (Exhibit No. 28)

Mr. HINTON. I think I told you yesterday that this appeared to be a picture of myself and students in the tractor training class.

Senator WELKER. And your picture appears in the middle of the second row?

Mr. HINTON. I think I agree with what I said yesterday; yes.

Senator WELKER. That is your picture?

Mr. HINTON. Well, it looks like me; yes.

Senator WELKER. I agree with you that it does look like you.

Now, yesterday I interrogated you as to whether or not there were any caps with any official insignia of the Communist Chinese Red Army on the caps of these individuals in your class. I think you told me that you could not see well enough. I believe you did, now. I may be wrong on that.

Mr. HINTON. I think yesterday I said I didn't see any insignia on the caps.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Now, with the magnifying glass, I am asking you to examine this picture and see whether or not you cannot see the star-and-sickle insignia on the cap of many of your students.

Mr. HINTON. It looks to me like each cap has two buttons on it.

Senator WELKER. You would say it was buttons instead of a star and sickle?

Mr. HINTON. It does not look like any insignia to me.

Senator WELKER. Do you know what two buttons would stand for?

Mr. HINTON. That is the way caps are made over there.

Senator WELKER. I see. Then how does it come that some of them do not have two buttons on?

Mr. HINTON. Well, they have different styles of caps in China just as we have here in America.

Senator WELKER. And you want to tell the committee, then, that none of your students were wearing the uniform of the Red Army in Chinese-occupied territory?

Mr. HINTON. All the students that came to the classes I taught wore the suits, pants, and caps that were issued by the school.

Senator WELKER. Including the instructor?

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Including you, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. When I was there, I wore the clothes that were—that was part of my pay.

Senator WELKER. Now we are into something, something I would like to find out about.

Who paid you when you were instructing?

Mr. HINTON. Well, at that time I was a member of the Brethren's Service Unit, which was a group of volunteers, 50 American volunteers, who went over with UNRRA, and we were paid by the UNRRA finances, \$12 a month and our expenses. Part of our expenses was clothes, and that was the clothes that we got.

Senator WELKER. You were paid all the time from funds of UNRRA when you were teaching this group of people?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Or was it funds from the Friends Society?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I don't remember the exact details. I know that we got \$12 a month plus our expenses. Now, it may be that the

Brethren's Service paid the \$12 and UNRRA paid the expenses. I am not quite sure. But in any case, that is the way we were paid.

Senator WELKER. And that is all the money you received, Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. Absolutely.

Senator WELKER. But you still had money enough to buy these posters that you talked about?

Mr. HINTON. I bought posters, a few every year, and they were very cheap there.

Senator WELKER. Very cheap there?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And you bought everything else that you needed?

Mr. HINTON. Part of the living expenses included food and soap and all the things that were needed for daily life; yes.

Senator WELKER. I see. All right.

Mr. Hinton, when did you leave Red China?

Mr. HINTON. I left the People's Republic of China——

Senator WELKER. And the People's Republic of China is referred to by the acting chairman of this committee as Red China. And you would not argue about that, would you?

Mr. HINTON. I am referring to the People's Republic of China, which is where I was at that time. I left there in the early summer of 1953, as we went through with the other hearing already. We already went through all those.

Senator WELKER. Yes. I want to go over all that again.

You left in the early summer of 1953?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Why did you give up your school there? Did your funds run out, or was there some other reason?

Mr. HINTON. I had no school there. I worked as a teacher in a school.

Senator WELKER. That is what I mean. You worked as a teacher. Why did you quit teaching?

Mr. HINTON. Because I wanted to come home.

Senator WELKER. You wanted to come home——

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And make lectures in the United States?

Mr. HINTON. Yes. I wanted to come home because I am an American; I never expected to spend all my life in China. I went there for a brief period and stayed on longer than I had expected to because there was interesting work there, and I came home in 1953 because I wanted to return to America and take up my life here.

Senator WELKER. You wanted to return to America and take up your life here, but you left your wife and child in Peking, did you not, your ex-wife and child?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Isn't this a very personal question, Senator Welker?

Senator WELKER. Yes. You told about your wanting to come back to America, that you had finished your work there, and you desired to come back home.

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. I am interrogating you on the general plane as to why you wanted to come back to America. You said it was because you were an American.

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. And I asked you if there was any other reason why you wanted to come back?

Mr. HINTON. No other reason.

Senator WELKER. And you were so anxious to come back to America that you left your wife and child there; is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. My relations between me and my wife are a private matter as far as I know.

Senator WELKER. Well, will you answer me this question: I do not want to get into privacy. But I think certainly I am entitled to know, since your great desire to come back to America, whether or not you left your wife and only child in Peking, Red China.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I was separated from my wife for about 3 years before I returned.

Senator WELKER. You separated from your wife?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. But you did leave your child there?

Mr. HINTON. I have since obtained a divorce.

Senator WELKER. Where did you get that divorce?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I don't think that this is a matter of concern for me. This is a personal question about my marriage, and I don't think it is of interest to the committee.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Hinton, I am going to direct this next question to my friend, your counsel, Mr. Friedman. You are the man who brought up the question of divorce. You opened up the subject matter, and certainly I am entitled to know where you received your divorce. You said you have a divorce. I want to know whether you do have a divorce. And I do not intend to go into the grounds or anything of that sort, Mr. Friedman. I think that you will agree with me that I am entitled to know where he received his divorce.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Senator, you addressed your question to me, and therefore I answer personally. I just advised Mr. Hinton, at his request for advice, that the question about his divorce and his separation from his wife is a private matter and not within the purview of this committee. That was my advice to him, and that is my opinion.

I do not believe that he raised the question of his divorce yesterday. I think you had referred, Senator, to his wife, and he stated to you, in answer to your question, that he did not have a wife, that the lady to whom you referred was his ex-wife, from whom he had been divorced.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. But it was not a subject that he opened up or that he wished to talk about.

Senator WELKER. Well, he opened it up just a minute ago. He said he was divorced.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That had come out yesterday in response to a question that you put, Senator.

Senator WELKER. I will depend on the record on this. And he opened up the subject matter, and regardless of whether he opened up the subject matter, I think it is fair, and I know that you are not expecting me to go into the trial of the divorce action or anything of that sort. I do not intend to get into intimate details of the divorce

action, but I do want to know, and I think the committee of Congress wants to know, whether or not a divorce was received, and if so, where. If it were an illegal divorce, certainly we would try to get legislation to touch on such divorces.

I have no idea whether it was illegal or not, Mr. Friedman. I am just trying to explain the background.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I suggest, Senator, that if that is the purpose, it is clearly not within the purview of this committee, whether a divorce is valid or invalid under a State or interstate law. That is not within the directive of this committee.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Mr. Friedman, we will end our little discussion hurriedly.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In that case I think I will advise Mr. Hinton to answer it.

Mr. HINTON. I obtained a divorce at Reno, Nev. I took the cure.

Senator WELKER. You took the cure at Reno, Nev. And now I want to ask you, after you left China, where did you first go on your return back to America?

Mr. HINTON. As we went through in the previous hearing, that substantially certainly outlines exactly how I got home. I took the train. I went by train across all of Siberia and European Russia to Czechoslovakia. From Czechoslovakia I took an airplane to London, England. From there I got a boat at Liverpool, I believe it was. The boat took me to Quebec, Canada, and from Quebec, Canada, I came to the United States by way of Maine.

Senator WELKER. Very well. On what kind of passport did you travel when you went through Russia to Prague?

Mr. HINTON. Well, as I said in the other hearing, my own passport was no longer valid, since it had expired. There was no way to get a new passport in China, since there were no American consular officials there. So I traveled on a Chinese exit permit until I reached Prague, where I had a few days when I could go to the consulate and apply for a new passport to return home.

Senator WELKER. Was your passport, the one that you traveled on from China to Czechoslovakia, the one you say expired, was that picked up at Prague?

Mr. HINTON. As I remember it, I gave that passport, that old expired passport, to the consulate at Prague, and I received a new passport on which I traveled home, or with which.

Senator WELKER. You were issued an American passport in Prague?

Mr. HINTON. Yes; I was.

Senator WELKER. Did you fill out any forms when you made application for this new passport?

Mr. HINTON. Yes. I filled out all the forms that I was required to fill out.

Senator WELKER. Did you make any changes in those forms?

Mr. HINTON. We went through all that before.

Senator WELKER. And we are going to go through it again. So you do not need to argue with me on that.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. It was printed in the record of the hearings. I think there is a record. In fact, we have it in here.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No; there is not.

Mr. HINTON. Yes; there is. They added it. After the hearing was over, your committee went to the State Department and got the original application of my form, and I believe it is printed right here.

Senator WELKER. I believe I know that about as well as you do. I understand that. And I am interrogating you again in a continuation of this hearing, and I ask you whether or not you made any changes in the application for a passport at Prague.

Mr. HINTON. Yes, I made changes on it; yes.

Senator WELKER. What changes did you make?

Mr. HINTON. Well, I have to find the document.

Senator WELKER. Don't you know?

Mr. HINTON. The last time we did not answer that question because we did not have the document before us.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Just answer the question.

Mr. HINTON. I know. But I have to have the document.

Senator WELKER. Now, do not argue with your counsel. After all, you have been doing pretty well with me. I do not want Mr. Friedman to get what I have been getting.

Mr. HINTON. Well, this purports to be, on page 1817, purports to be a photostat of the passport application which I made, and it looks to me to be substantially correct.

Now, I made an addition to the lower part. I don't know what part you call that.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Is there a question before the witness?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Now, do you want to tell us about what changes you made, Mr. Hinton?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. According to this—and this evidently is a copy of the application I made—I added a phrase to the section, to the affidavit, stating that:

Unless the above-mentioned employment is interpreted as coming under any of the above provisions.

Senator WELKER. Were you asked in Prague or any other place where you were getting this new passport to come back to America, whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first, fourth—on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer that?

Mr. HINTON. [Nods head affirmatively.]

Senator WELKER. Had you been asked that question, would you have given a truthful answer?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, since you have testified that you are an American and anxious to come back home and leave China, why do you take the fifth amendment when I ask you whether or not you were asked by any official in Prague whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds; on the first and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell the passport division over there, once you received this passport to get back to America, the truth on your application?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Did you lie to the passport division in Prague in order to get back to the United States of America?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. You were so anxious to leave China and to get back to America that you lied to the passport people at Prague where you received a passport to come back to America?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, did you stop at Moscow, Russia, on your way back from Red China?

Mr. HINTON. I changed trains there.

Senator WELKER. You changed trains there?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. How long did you remain in Moscow?

Mr. HINTON. Oh, a few hours. I don't remember exactly.

Senator WELKER. Was it 3, 8, or 10 hours, or what?

Mr. HINTON. Oh, it was maybe 15 hours, or something like that.

Senator WELKER. About 15 hours?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Whom did you see there in Moscow?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. You decline to answer that?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. On the grounds that your answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. On the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. You were so anxious to get back, apparently—

Mr. HINTON. We went all through this before in the other hearing.

Senator WELKER. Yes. I know that this is embarrassing to you. And you will get on the record, sir, if I have to stay here all evening.

Mr. HINTON. It is not embarrassing to me. It is just wasting my time, sir, and yours, too.

Senator WELKER. I know you like to go back to the first hearing, and I would like to go back to it, too, and I am sorry the American people, all of them, do not know it as well as you and I do.

Now I am asking you, you were so anxious to leave Red China to get back to America, but you will not tell this committee whom you saw or visited in Moscow, Russia?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Did you disclose to anyone in Moscow, Russia, whom you intended to speak before or whom you intended to see after you returned to the United States of America?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. No; of course not.

Senator WELKER. What did you discuss with anyone whom you saw in Moscow, Russia?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell them anything about Red China?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Did you tell them anything that you expected to do when you came back to the United States of America.

Mr. HINTON. No.

Senator WELKER. Now, since you have been back to the United States of America, and since you refuse to tell me on the grounds of the fifth amendment whom you talked to in Moscow, Russia, and the fact of whether or not you were asked whether or not you were a Communist, in Prague, and you have heretofore told me that your major occupation was that of teaching tractor work, and so forth, have you ever done any tractor work since you have been back to the United States of America?

Mr. HINTON. I have worked for a considerable while as a truck mechanic; yes.

Senator WELKER. As a truck mechanic?

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever taught in any schools about how to run a tractor, as you did in Red China?

Mr. HINTON. An expert is an ordinary fellow a long way from home. In China I was able to teach on tractors. But in this country, I don't think I would be quite the—I couldn't be a professor of tractors in this country. I am a pretty good mechanic.

Senator WELKER. Well, I think you are a pretty good mechanic at words. I will admit that.

Now, have you made any attempt to teach in any tractor school in the United States of America?

Mr. HINTON. Why, no; I certainly haven't.

Senator WELKER. Have you made any applications for any jobs whatsoever?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I think you are getting at the same thing we talked about yesterday, there.

Senator WELKER. I know I am.

Mr. HINTON. I know it is the purpose of your committee to prevent people from getting jobs, and now you are asking me, did I apply for any jobs, and you are threatening me with loss of livelihood, actually. That is what you are doing.

Senator WELKER. No; I wouldn't do that. I would like to send you back to Red China to get your livelihood. I will be frank with you, as far as I am concerned, when you refuse to tell me whether or not you lied at Prague when you got a passport into this country, here, an American citizen coming into this country, and you take the fifth amendment on a question of whether or not you were asked whether you were a Communist.

Mr. HINTON. Now you are drawing inferences again.

Senator WELKER. I will make some inferences. I think that is a logical inference.

Mr. HINTON. No. That is not allowed in the use of the fifth amendment, to draw inferences. That is not constitutional. It is not constitutional.

Senator WELKER. All right. So I am going to get some law from a tractor driver, now.

Mr. HINTON. Well, that part of the law I know.

Senator WELKER. And when you deny to this committee whom you talked to in the 15 hours that you stopped in Moscow, Russia, I think I am entitled to know the reason why you have not asked for employment, the skilled employment, that sent you to China, sir.

Mr. HINTON. I didn't say I hadn't asked for employment. I said that it seems to me you are getting into an area where you will try to prevent my making a living in this country.

Senator WELKER. I asked you your principal employment at the first hearing, and I believe yesterday, and you told me it was lecturing. Is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. I said that in recent months I had been lecturing and writing. I wrote a book since I came back.

Senator WELKER. Has that been published yet?

Mr. HINTON. No; it hasn't.

Senator WELKER. Now, you told me, did you not, that your principal employment was that of lecturing?

Mr. HINTON. I don't know. We would have to go back to the record. I think the record said I had been writing and I had been lecturing, and I think I also mentioned that I had worked as a truck mechanic.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Assuming that is correct, now, do you want to tell me where you have lectured in the United States?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendment. And I do not know why you go through this again and again and again.

Senator WELKER. I know you do not. But maybe I am not——

Mr. HINTON. I have a right to lecture anywhere I want in the United States.

Senator WELKER. That is very true.

Mr. HINTON. And I don't have to report to you where I lecture. That is my right as an American citizen.

Senator WELKER. That is very true. Now I suppose that if you were to lecture to a group who were dedicated to the overthrow of this country by force and violence, you would claim you did not have a right to report to a committee of Congress? Is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. I didn't get the purport of your question.

Senator WELKER. I know you did not get it. But you said you did not have to tell this committee where you lectured or whom you lectured to, and then I came back and said, if I had information that you spoke to a group who were dedicated to the overthrow of this country by force and violence, you still would think that you did not have a right or duty to answer that question from this committee?

Mr. HINTON. If you——

Senator WELKER. Is that your opinion?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. If you have such information, you should report it.

Senator WELKER. I am not asking you that. I am cross-examining you as to what my rights and duties, this committee's rights and duties, are, with respect to a witness such as you.

Mr. HINTON. If you have any evidence that I have done any such thing, I should think you should report that.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Why don't you tell us, then? Why don't you tell me where you have lectured these 300-and-some times?

Mr. HINTON. Because all your committees want is names, names, names of people. I spoke to a lot of good, honest American citizens, and I certainly do not intend that you should have all these names, names, names, so that you could haul innocent people down here and give them the same kind of grilling that you gave me; no, sir.

Senator WELKER. No, no. That does not work that way. Yesterday you took the fifth amendment on something which I thought embarrassed a great farmers' organization composed of thousands—

Mr. HINTON. You were drawing inferences again, and you are drawing inferences now. And it just won't work.

Senator WELKER. It just will not work with Bill Hinton, but it will work with me and millions of other Americans all over this land, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. HINTON. I think most Americans respect the Bill of Rights more than you do, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Yes. I think most Americans that I have met since coming to this Congress respect the Bill of Rights, too. But I think that people who will decline to answer whether or not they lied at Prague or whom they met in Moscow, Russia—I think those people are the ones who appreciate the fifth amendment more than any person I have ever known. And I can say this to you, sir—

Mr. HINTON. I think—

Senator WELKER. And I have defended a great many people charged with serious, major offenses in the field of criminal law. Never in my life have I ever seen the fifth amendment taken advantage of until I was put on this Committee of Internal Security of the United States Senate, taken advantage of by people just like you, Mr. William Hinton, who, as I say, have some reason to take the fifth amendment on whether or not he lied in Prague when he got his passport to the country—

Mr. HINTON. And what you are doing now is unconstitutional.

Senator WELKER (continuing). And whom he spoke to in Moscow, Russia.

Mr. HINTON. What you are doing is unconstitutional, and you know.

Senator WELKER. Well, that is too bad about the Constitution.

Mr. HINTON. Yes. That is how you regard it.

Senator WELKER. You are awfully sacred on the Constitution. In my opinion, if you answered the truth, you would help us preserve it.

Mr. HINTON. I am certainly trying to. I am certainly trying to.

Senator WELKER. People like you, by your actions, by your testimony, and by your deeds, might very well be hurting that Constitution that we all ought to be having closer to our bosoms.

Mr. HINTON. I am trying to uphold it every way I know how.

Senator WELKER. Yes. I know just exactly how you are trying to uphold it. You think it is upholding the Constitution of the United States when you sit here and take advantage of the fifth amendment when I asked you—

Mr. HINTON. You are drawing that inference.

Senator WELKER (continuing). When I asked you the very question of whether or not you lied to get back to this country. You did not have to lie in Prague when the question was asked you, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HINTON. Did you have a question?

Senator WELKER. Did anybody ask you to lie in Prague when you were trying to get a passport back to this country?

Mr. HINTON. Who said I lied at Prague?

Senator WELKER. I say there is an inference that you lied when you took the fifth amendment.

Mr. HINTON. You can't draw inferences from the use of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Then if you did not lie, what did you say when you were asked the question, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. And why do you hesitate on telling this committee, if you are such a great American as you would like people to believe you are, whom you met in Moscow, Russia, on your return?

Mr. HINTON. Am I directed to answer that question?

Senator WELKER. Yes, you are.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Now, in Prague, where did you go and how did you go in your trip back to the United States of America?

Mr. HINTON. From Prague, I took an airplane to London. Then I went by train to Liverpool. Then I went by boat to Quebec, Canada, and then I came by automobile back to my home.

Senator WELKER. Was there any particular reason why you took Quebec, Canada, as the place to land?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Why?

Mr. HINTON. Because that was the only berth I could get on a ship crossing the Atlantic in the month of July 1953. They had one berth on a ship going to Quebec, and so I took it. I wanted a berth coming to New York, but there was no such boat available to me.

Senator WELKER. You did not want to wait a week or a few days until a berth was available?

Mr. HINTON. I wasn't allowed to wait a week or a few days.

Senator WELKER. All right.

And then after leaving Liverpool and coming to Quebec, then what happened in your travels? Where did you go from Quebec?

Mr. HINTON. Well, as I remember it, I went right away to Madawaska, Maine, and then—

Senator WELKER. First let me interrupt you. Did you meet anybody in Quebec to talk to?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. My mother and my sister met me at the boat.

Senator WELKER. Which sister? Jean or Joan?

Mr. HINTON. My sister, Jean.

Senator WELKER. Your sister, Jean.

You heard the testimony before that she was divorced by her husband on the ground that she had been in the home of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster in Washington, D. C., and that her ex-husband had seen photographic equipment in the basement of Mr. Silvermaster, with his wife, your sister, Jean? That is the same person, is it not, that met you at Quebec?

Mr. HINTON. I don't think it is proper to start questioning me about why my sister was divorced, and so on, as I remember that—

Senator WELKER. You heard that testimony, did you not Mr. Hinton?

Mr. HINTON. No, I didn't hear it.

Senator WELKER. You did not? You read it, though, did you not, given by her former husband? I have forgotten his name. It is here in the record.

Mr. CARPENTER. Mr. Green.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Green. I think he lives in Baltimore.

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. Yes, I read the record of that hearing. But as you remember, I came in late, and I didn't hear the testimony.

Senator WELKER. I don't remember when you came in. But that is one of the statements made by Mr. Green under oath before this subcommittee; is that not true?

(Witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. It is in the record, what Mr. Green said, and we could get it out if we wanted an argument.

Senator WELKER. Do you know your sister Jean to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Do you know any member of your family to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. And your family consists of your mother, your sister Jean, and your sister Joan, who is in Red China now; is that correct? And that is all of your family outside of your child?

Mr. HINTON. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Do you know any of them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Friedman, can you arrange with us to have an executive session where we can put some more of these documents into the record? And we will tell you now that they, in all likelihood, will be put into the public record, and at that time, Mr. Hinton may have all the time required to examine them as they go into the record.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. You will get together with us on that?

Mr. MORRIS. As soon as it is over, we will work on a time in agreement.

Senator WELKER. And Mr. Hinton, you are still held under subpoena of the committee, because I may want to interrogate you a little more and have some more testimony from you. I will make up my mind on that at a later time.

Mr. MORRIS. And you will notify Mr. Friedman.

Senator WELKER. And, Mr. Friedman, we will appreciate that.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Is Mr. Hinton dismissed now?

Senator WELKER. I want to say to counsel that he has been very perfect to deal with, and he is a gentleman in every respect. I want to pay a tribute again.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You have been a gentleman all the time, and I appreciate it very much.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Now, for the purpose of the portion of the William Hinton hearing, that portion will be suspended as of now, because I want to take up another subject matter, which will be very brief. You hold your client under subpoena until advised by committee counsel.

Is that agreeable, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Is he to stay in Washington?

Senator WELKER. We will let you know. Counsel will let you know just as soon as we can get time to get together and have a visit on some other matters.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Very well, sir.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

You are excused as of this time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Hinton asks me, what about his papers? Are we to discuss that, too, when we discuss the executive session?

Mr. MORRIS. We will do that.

Senator WELKER. You mean the papers in the footlocker?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The papers in the footlocker and the other papers that he claims.

Mr. HINTON. The papers that were seized from me.

Senator WELKER. I did not think he admitted that he owned those.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. He did not answer the questions as to whether he owned them or not in this session. But Judge Morris knows, there is a lot of correspondence from me and Mr. Hinton's former lawyer, in which he has claimed those papers, and we have replies from the committee with respect to them.

Senator WELKER. Well, I am sure we will have no trouble agreeing, Mr. Friedman. We may differ, but we will be friends.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Senator WELKER. During December and January, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee held hearings during which newspapermen appeared as witnesses. The subcommittee had received evidence that virtually all of these witnesses had been, at some time or other in the past, members of the Communist Party.

Earlier, a Columbia Broadcasting System reporter had made a forthright disclosure before us about his own participation in Communist Party activities, from which association he had been recruited by the Soviet intelligence to work as a correspondent abroad.

From his testimony and from other sources, the subcommittee acquired extensive evidence of Communist penetration of the press. With respect to most of the subsequent witnesses, we noticed that they invoked their privilege under the fifth amendment rather than answer questions about the subcommittee's evidence. Some few admitted what the subcommittee had presented as sworn testimony, but they revealed little more.

Within the area of their testimony of their recent-day or present activity concerning which the subcommittee had no direct sworn testimony, they denied Communist Party membership. However, they gave very little information or evidence to the subcommittee of how Communists in the newspaper field carried on their work.

Just the other day I was reading a book which had just been published, called *Such Is Life*, by Jeanne Perkins Harmon. In chapters

11 and 12, Mrs. Harmon, in a very clear and simple manner, has raised the curtain on some of these very things the subcommittee was seeking to learn. Her narrative deals with her own experience as a news-woman in Life magazine in late 1940, and is remarkable analytically. She cites specific instances, the like of which have been withheld from us in sworn testimony.

She has mentioned in these chapters the votes of the individual units of the Newspaper Guild, which Mr. J. G. Sourwine, who was then chief counsel of our subcommittee, had put into the record of the subcommittee. The vote mentioned by Mrs. Harmon occurred in 1947 and was on the issue of whether Jack Ryan, whom our evidence clearly indicates was then a Communist, should be the executive vice president of the Newspaper Guild in New York. The contest was for the control of the Newspaper Guild.

And while it resulted in the first defeat of the Communist-controlled slate in New York, it did show the strength of the totalitarian forces at that time in certain of the units.

Such Is Life relates the heroic work of the anti-Communist writers and newspaper men and women who fought so valiantly to wrest control of the Newspaper Guild from the Communists. The Internal Security Subcommittee has always been mindful of the courage and the determination of those publishers, editors, and newspaper men and women whose devotion to their profession has never flagged.

Mrs. Harmon relates in great detail, among other things, how a story written by her on American flyers protesting the execution of General Mihailovich by Tito was changed and rechanged. She also made this significant observation:

I do say, however, that there is often as much sin in omission as in commission. A zealous party supporter would be just as roundly congratulated for keeping something out of the public eye as he would be for getting something in. And that, given the high casualty rate on stories, anyway, is comparatively easy to accomplish.

I am offering for the record these chapters by Mrs. Harmon, chapters Nos. 11 and 12 of Such Is Life, and I am ordering that they appear in the printed record in the sequence of the testimony of Tass correspondents who are currently appearing before this subcommittee.

(The material above described will be found in part 9 of the subcommittee's hearing on "The Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States.")

The committee will now stand in recess.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the next scheduled hearing is tomorrow morning at 10:30. The witness will be Maude Russell.

(Whereupon, at 12:57 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Thursday, March 8, 1956.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senator Welker.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel, and Robert C. McManus, investigations analyst.

Senator WELKER. The meeting will come to order.

Mr. Hinton, you realize you are still under a continuing oath?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You so understand, counsel?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. HINTON—Resumed

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, I would like to ask you under oath with respect to an appearance and statements made by you at a World Fellowship, Inc., meeting at North Conway, N. H., in the the summer of 1955. Were you there at that time?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. Have you every been in New Hampshire?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever received an invitation to speak in the State of New Hampshire?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the ground of the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Do you know a man by the name of Willard Uphaus?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. I will overrule your objection on the first and recognize your objection on the fifth.

Mr. HINTON. On that last question my refusal was based on the fifth.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Do you know what the World Fellowship, Inc., is?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever heard of it?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Senator WELKER. On the ground of the fifth?

Mr. HINTON. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Let me ask you again: Have you been invited to speak in New Hampshire by Willard Uphaus at a World Fellowship, Inc., meeting?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the ground of the first and fifth amendments?

Senator WELKER. I am not asking you what you said; I merely ask you whether or not you had been invited to speak at a meeting. Do you mean to tell the committee that if you were truthfully to answer that question it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. Now, you are starting to draw inferences just the way you did the other day.

Senator WELKER. Very well. I am going to ask the questions and you answer them.

Mr. HINTON. Go ahead.

Senator WELKER. I asked you the question.

Mr. HINTON. What was the question again?

Senator WELKER. Read it to him.

(The reporter read as follows:)

I am not asking you what you said; I merely ask you whether or not you had been invited to speak at a meeting. Do you mean to tell the committee that if you were truthfully to answer that question it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HINTON. Is that the question?

Senator WELKER. That is the question.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. I am ordering and directing you, Mr. Hinton, to answer that question.

Mr. HINTON. I decline on the same grounds, the grounds of the fifth and the first amendment.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever done any speaking whatsoever in the State of New Hampshire?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. Whether in 1955 or 1945 or any other year?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same ground.

Senator WELKER. You have stated under oath that you were an organizer for the Farmers Union in the New England States. Is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. I don't remember whether we went through that yesterday, but that is substantially correct. My area included the whole of New England.

Senator WELKER. How did you organize? Did you organize by remaining silent, or did you make speeches there?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. HINTON. I decline on the same grounds.

Senator WELKER. And you desire to take the fifth amendment as to the question of whether or not you have ever been in the State of New Hampshire?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the same grounds—I am standing on the fifth in regard to that question.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, yesterday you told the committee that in your footlocker there were no papers, typewritten notes, or letters that you put in bond. Is that correct?

Mr. HINTON. Well, that would depend on the definition of papers. There were no typewritten papers.

Senator WELKER. Either carbon copies of typewritten papers or otherwise?

Mr. HINTON. Carbon copies or otherwise.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you suppose those papers were that were shown to you? What is your contention that they were, if they were not your papers?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I speak?

Mr. MORRIS. Sure, Mr. Friedman. Maybe there is a misunderstanding here.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There is a misunderstanding. The answer referred to the container, not to the documents themselves. Those papers were not in the footlocker at the time that the footlocker was placed in bond, but they were otherwise contained, otherwise wrapped outside the footlocker.

Senator WELKER. Now, that is the statement of counsel, and it doesn't come from the witness. It appears to me to be in direct conflict with the testimony given by the witness.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think not, sir.

Senator WELKER. Sir?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think not, sir.

Senator WELKER. Well, we may differ on that. We both have the transcript. I am reading now from page 934 of the transcript of your present hearing—let me go back to 933:

Mr. MORRIS. You deny that that paper was in your footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I say there were no typewritten papers in my footlocker that was in bond, sent to the Customs.

Mr. MORRIS. I can only conclude from that statement that that, therefore, did not appear in your footlocker.

And on page 934:

Mr. HINTON. That is what I am saying.

Wait a minute—that did not appear in my footlocker. I am not—

and then there was an interruption.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Hinton, do you mean by your statement that there was no carbon copies of any typewritten documents in your footlocker?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. No. I mean there were no letters, carbon or otherwise; there were no notes, typewritten, carbon or otherwise, in the footlocker.

Senator WELKER. Then it is your testimony that these exhibits were placed there by some person other than yourself or your agents; is that correct?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. If these were there at all, that is correct.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think, Senator, that that is consistent with what I just said. In other words, the footlocker was taken, and some other container of typewritten documents was taken. But the typewritten documents were not in the footlocker at the time they were taken from Mr. Hinton.

Senator WELKER. I want to propound a question to Mr. McManus.

Mr. McManus, you are still under oath. Were these typewritten papers and documents taken from the footlocker and not from some other container?

Mr. McMANUS. Senator, I think I testified repeatedly that all of these documents which were introduced and identified by me were taken from the footlocker. I never was given any other container by the Customs pertaining to Mr. Hinton's property.

Mr. MORRIS. The difficulty arises here, Mr. Friedman, that when the committee met and discussed this thing they were afraid that the record showed that Mr. Hinton was contending that some of these papers may not have been typewritten papers. And the committee cannot leave the record unsettled that these documents are the original documents of Mr. Hinton unmolessted and untouched.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The only point that Mr. Hinton was making, Judge Morris, was that at some stage after the papers were taken from him, properly or otherwise, there has been some transfer of papers from one container to another. There were at least two and probably three containers of papers that were originally taken from Mr. Hinton. The typewritten papers were not in the footlocker at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. There is no contention on the part of Mr. Hinton, is there, Mr. Friedman, that any of these documents are anything but what they were represented by the committee to have been?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. As far as the typewritten documents. Mr. Hinton asks me not to waive his privileges in that regard. May I answer a question without waiving his privileges?

Mr. MORRIS. By all means, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. As far as the typewritten documents were concerned, Mr. Hinton does not take the position that they are not his. That would not apply to all the photographs, however.

Mr. MORRIS. What do we do about the photographs, Mr. Friedman? We have here the testimony of Mr. McManus that he took them out of the footlocker. You do not deny—you are not going to concede—you do not deny—

Senator WELKER. Are we talking off the record?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Are you asking me a question?

Mr. MORRIS. I pointed out to Mr. Friedman, Senator Welker, that the concern of the committee, which has met since our last meeting here, was that the state of the record was such that it might be contended at some time in the future that all of the documents introduced into the record by the subcommittee and the staff may not have been genuine documents, in view of the denial on the part of Mr. Hinton that he had any typewritten papers in the footlocker.

Now, I think this colloquy has brought out the fact that Mr. Hinton did have a packet or a package of typewritten notes that may have turned up in the footlocker—in other words, when the committee got possession of the footlocker the contents of the package also ended up in the footlocker. So there is no contention on the part of Mr. Hinton that those documents are not genuine documents.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He makes no such contention at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there any basis for his making it any other time?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He doesn't know, because he hasn't read all through the documents. What he asks is that all the documents that Mr. McManus found among his papers be returned to him.

Senator WELKER. You mean, he wants them returned to him and he doesn't know whether or not they are his?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. McManus knows whether or not they are his or not, he knows what he took them for. But there are thousands of documents there, and certainly Mr. Hinton is not in a position to say that everything Mr. McManus returns is exactly what Mr. McManus took.

Senator WELKER. Is it your contention, counsel, that he should have all these things returned to him because of the fact that he doesn't know whether or not they are his, as you just stated?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. No. It is my contention, Senator, that they should be returned to him because they were taken from him, or at least Mr. McManus says they were taken from him.

Mr. McMANUS. May I say a few things?

Senator WELKER. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. McMANUS. I never said, Mr. Chairman, that they were taken from him. I said where the committee obtained possession of them. I don't know when they were taken from him, or where, or anything of that kind, and I would like to have the record state what actually is the fact.

This all reflects on me, and I would like to have a few words to say once in a while.

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think it reflects upon you, Mr. McManus, in any way.

Mr. McMANUS. In reference to the photographs, may I ask 1 or 2 questions?

Senator WELKER. Go right ahead.

Mr. McMANUS. You brought back some photographs, Mr. Hinton, from China?

Mr. HINTON. Yes; I brought back some photographs.

Mr. McMANUS. Did you bring back any photographs pertaining to the Asian and Pacific peace conference?

Mr. HINTON. Yes, I brought back some photographs pertaining to the Asian and Pacific peace conference.

Mr. McMANUS. Did you bring back any photographs pertaining to exhibits of alleged bacteriological warfare that were on display at the Asian and Pacific peace conference?

Mr. HINTON. I don't remember whether I did or not.

Mr. McMANUS. Did you bring back any photographs of John or Sylvia Powell?

(The witness consults with his counsel.)

Mr. HINTON. I think I did not.

Mr. McMANUS. Did you bring back a picture of your sister Joan, sitting on the platform of the Asian-Pacific peace conference?

(The witness confers with his attorney.)

Mr. HINTON. I think I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you did not?

Mr. HINTON. I think I did not.

Senator WELKER. May I ask you, Mr. McManus, were any pictures taken from the footlocker of Mr. Hinton which included the photographs of John and Sylvia Powell or the witness' sister, Joan Hinton?

Mr. McMANUS. I think I testified on the first day, Senator, that in the footlocker was a picture of John and Sylvia Powell looking at an

exhibit, which we had translated by the Library of Congress, and the translation is in the record.

There is another picture of John and Sylvia Powell sitting, listening to what appears to be a tape recording. And there is a picture of another woman there, whom I cannot testify is Joan Hinton, but who compares with other pictures I have seen identified as Joan Hinton.

May I ask about one more picture?

Did you bring back a picture of Joseph Starobin?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

MR. HINTON. How about letting me see the picture you are talking about?

MR. McMANUS. Did you bring back a picture of Joseph Starobin?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

MR. HINTON. I would certainly be very much surprised if this picture came out of my footlocker.

MR. McMANUS. What is your answer, yes or no?

MR. HINTON. My answer is that I would be very much surprised that it did. I rather think that you planted it there.

Senator WELKER. What?

MR. HINTON. I said, I rather think that he planted it there.

And that isn't the picture that was on the board here the other day which I testified to, because that didn't have any thumbtack holes in it, and that picture was thumbtacked to the board, as you well know.

Senator WELKER. If you want to delay matters, we will get the thumbtacked picture.

MR. HINTON. We are speaking about several pictures.

Senator WELKER. Don't give me any argument. I have had about all the argument from you I am going to take.

MR. McMANUS. Do you know Joseph Starobin?

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

MR. McMANUS. Did you ever see Joseph Starobin in China?

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the ground of the fifth amendment.

MR. McMANUS. Did you bring back this volume?

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer that on the ground of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

MR. McMANUS. You won't acknowledge that this is one of the volumes that you brought back?

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Will you please answer whether or not this volume was in the footlocker that was impounded by Customs?

MR. HINTON. I decline to answer whether that volume was in the footlocker.

MR. McMANUS. For the record, Senator, this is a bound volume entitled "People's China, 1952." This is one of the volumes that was in the footlocker when it was opened under my supervision.

On page 36 of the issue for September 17, 1952, this paragraph appears in an article, "They Want To Live in Peace, by Joseph Starobin."

I have talked with many American friends who have lived and worked here for years. For example, Bill Hinton, a chip off the old marble of Vermont, was telling me how he hailed a bus one afternoon on his way into Peking.

Senator WELKER. Well, directing your attention to an instrument, I will ask you whether or not that is your property.

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the ground of the first and fourth and fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. And you still want that returned to you upon the ground that you will not admit whether or not it is your property?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer that.

Senator WELKER. Mr. McManus, directing your attention to the matter just propounded—the question propounded to the witness—I will ask you whether or not you received that.

Mr. McMANUS. This is one of the documents—has it been identified any more than this—this is a document that I found in Mr. Hinton's footlocker. It is a carbon, single space, two sheets. The top of one sheet says:

Your letter finally caught up with me.

The top of the second sheet says:

Peasant houses where they live and are often packed in like sardines.

And on the back of the first sheet there is a script following; it says:

I have gone to talk with Dean Chang, will be back soon.

And the signature, "Bill Hinton."

Mr. HINTON. You know, you are spending an awful lot of time on this, Senator. I don't think the farmers out in Idaho will be pleased to hear that you are spending this whole week on this while the farm bill is up on the floor. You don't seem to be worrying about whether you are going to get reelected, and I doubt very much that you will, when the farmers out there find that you have been here 5 days while the farm bill has been on the floor.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, I am going to admonish this witness about his argumentative attitude. I know he hates me, as he does all Americans.

And I have had about as much from you as I am going to take. I am on official duty here, and I expect to be here as long as my official duty calls for me to be here, and I don't need any assistance from a fifth-amendment gentleman like you.

Mr. HINTON. You are drawing inferences again; it is unconstitutional.

Senator WELKER. It is unconstitutional. Well, you come back to Idaho and raise your ugly head, and I defy you to ever get elected to anything. You couldn't get a corporal's guard to listen to you. I dare you to come out.

Whose handwriting is on the back of that?

Mr. HINTON. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment, and the first and the fourth.

It is about time we wound up this show, isn't it, Senator? It is not doing you any good.

Senator WELKER. Did anyone ask you a question? You know, I have been here for nearly 6 years, and I have had many witnesses before me that I have tried to treat with courtesy and respect, never trying to entrap them. And I have had them try to make me lose my temper.

I will refuse to lose my temper to a man like you. I think you know what I think of you. I don't respect you at all. You haven't, I think, told the truth to this committee, and if you would come forth and be frank with me I would be the first person to congratulate you and send you on your way.

Mr. HINTON. Do you mean to say that I made one false statement to this committee?

Senator WELKER. I will take care of the matter in due time.

And now I am ordering that the footlocker, all of its contents, be impounded. And you may go and seek your legal redress, if any you might have, to receive the same.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Senator, may I ask on what basis the footlocker and its contents are being impounded?

Senator WELKER. It is because of the fact that there is no identification that the contents are owned by the witness. That is perfectly apparent by the interrogation, too.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. However, the testimony at the first session here on Tuesday was that the property that was taken by Customs was the property of William Hinton. Mr. McManus has testified that he opened the footlocker and took from it the documents that were offered here. There is no question but that the property that was taken was Mr. Hinton's.

Senator WELKER. That is your statement. Let him state it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That is the statement of the witnesses here.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

That is the statement of Mr. McManus.

But he has denied it is his property.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. He hasn't denied anything, except the Starobin picture.

Senator WELKER. He denied this document, he took the fifth amendment on this.

Mr. HINTON. That is not a denial, that is the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. I am not going to argue.

It is the order of the acting chairman that the locker be impounded.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I ask—

Senator WELKER. I don't care to hear from you.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I must protest the impounding of the footlocker.

Senator WELKER. As far as I am concerned, the meeting—

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I state for the record my objection? I don't believe the committee has a right to impound the footlocker. It is not evidence, it is the property of Mr. Hinton, its contents are the property of Mr. Hinton, nor can he legally and constitutionally be required as a condition for the return of his property to waive his rights under the Constitution.

And that is precisely what your statement adds up to, Senator, that because he asserted his constitutional rights you are going to impound the footlocker.

Senator WELKER. Will you have your client say that the footlocker and all of its contents are the property of one William Hinton?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In a proper forum, sir, I am sure he will—

Senator WELKER. Will your client—not you, Mr. Friedman, you are not the man who is being heard here.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I am saying that in a proper forum he will make whatever statement he is advised to make.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

If you will just let your client say that the footlocker and all of its contents, including those exhibits presented to him about which he took the fifth amendment—we certainly don't know whether they

are his pieces of property—if you will have your client admit that all of this is his property, then I would like to hear him say so.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Senator, I consider that an unconscionable attempt to force a witness to waive his constitutional rights. I will not advise him to do that.

Senator WELKER. How about the Starobin photograph? Do you have anything to say about that?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. The Starobin photograph?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Hinton has testified to that, that he does not recognize it. I don't care if it is not returned to him.

Mr. McMANUS. Just one point. The question was raised as to whether this is the same photograph that was shown to him yesterday. And I would like the record to show that when I was testifying about the photographs on the board yesterday, those were enlargements. I neglected to state that, and I would like to correct that for the record.

Those were enlargements of originals that I had taken from the footlocker, and the prints were made under my direction.

Senator WELKER. Very well. The record will so show.

It is the order of the subcommittee that the footlocker and its contents will be impounded.

Mr. HINTON. We are going right down to the district court, and we are going to bring every member of this committee into court, and we are going to sue every member of this committee.

Senator WELKER. That shocks me very much, Mr. Hinton. I quite assure you that I am not going to hide behind the fifth amendment like you have for these past 3 days.

Mr. HINTON. We are going right down to court, and we are going to bring you all into court.

Senator WELKER. You go right ahead.

Mr. HINTON. And we are going to let the court decide, since you have used this form of blackmail.

Senator WELKER. Please, you are using rather strong language for such a well-educated gentleman who has walked 36 miles to see a person suffer.

Mr. MORRIS. There are some documents that Mr. McManus wants to put in the record.

Mr. McMANUS. I will just look at them and say I can identify them all as having been taken from the footlocker. Will that be satisfactory for the record?

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. McMANUS. Senator, I can say that I have examined every document in this pile, and that they are material that was removed from the footlocker under my supervision.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

You will properly mark the exhibits, and they will be put in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you make a list of those, Mr. McManus.

Mr. McMANUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Hinton, would you look at these documents?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Judge Morris, would it help if I made a statement for the record?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Mr. Friedman.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Hinton, if he looks at those documents, will assert his rights as he has already asserted them with respect to other documents handed to him, under the first and the fourth and the fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. However, let the record show, Mr. Friedman, that he had an opportunity to dispute these documents, that an opportunity was afforded him to dispute these documents.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. In that case, you had better show them to him, and you will have to make a record as to how many pages, and so forth, involved.

Senator WELKER. The record will show that you will identify the documents and introduce them in the record as of this point.

(The list of documents offered by Mr. McManus appears in a following volume.)

Senator WELKER. And let the record further show that counsel and the witness have every opportunity to examine the exhibits at any time.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. We haven't seen the documents, of course.

Mr. MORRIS. They will be shown to you, Mr. Hinton.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There is on the desk in front of you a pile of documents which seems to be several hundred pages, and if that constitutes an opportunity to examine them, I miss my guess.

Mr. MORRIS. Put them in front of Mr. Hinton, will you, Mr. Arens. (A pile of documents was placed in front of the witness.)

Mr. HINTON. It would take me a long time to really look through and be able to say one way or another.

Mr. MORRIS. You know, Mr. Hinton, you were given an opportunity yesterday afternoon, and again this morning, and overnight, if you wished it, here in the building, and then earlier last Monday, to examine all these documents.

Mr. HINTON. When I came on Monday, there was a small envelope of paper that couldn't have had more than 25 or 30 sheets in it. It wasn't opened. And that was reported to me as what I was going to be examined on.

Mr. MORRIS. Didn't I make it clear to you yesterday that in the event there was any doubt, you could see any document you wanted to in the footlocker?

Mr. HINTON. I thought that was going to be arranged at the session.

Mr. MORRIS. You said, in order to save time, you would again look at that yesterday afternoon or this morning, and you said you wouldn't do it.

Senator WELKER. Any part of the recess.

Mr. HINTON. I didn't understand that that was the offer.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

This hearing is now concluded, because of the fact that the acting chairman is being called to the floor to vote on the amendment to the farm bill.

The documents have been received in the record, and the meeting is adjourned.

Mr. HINTON. Are they mine or not?

Senator WELKER. No; they are not yours. They are impounded.

Mr. HINTON. All right; you are going to get sued.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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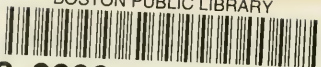
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